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THE FREEDOM OF HISTORY¹

WHEN, in my college days, our old professor of philosophy added to his course on the history of philosophy a course on the philosophy of history the boys averred that that was easy enough: he had only to read his old lectures backward. Perhaps, before I am through, it may be as easy to guess why one who has long been a student of the history of freedom now takes for his theme the freedom of history. Not the freedom of the historian. Far be it from me, in this presence, to discuss the liberties taken by historians, or even the liberties sometimes taken with historians. It is of history in her own proper person that I wish to speak.

To a student of the history of freedom it might appear, I admit, on a first glance through the literature of his subject, that the powers which hamper liberty must for long have troubled themselves little about history. But, though her place in the earliest annals of repression is small as compared, say, with that of philosophy, it needs but a moment's thought to be sure that not one of the sorts of authority—tribal, political, theological, social—among which Sir Frederick Pollock has divided the responsibility for persecution can ever have been indifferent to the study of the past. And, as the inquirer takes up one by one those rude beginnings of record which shed dim light on early human affairs, it presently dawns on him that whatever in them savors of freedom comes not from tolerance, but from monopoly. Soon, too, it dawns on him that, even if in that old day official tradition could have found a rival, that rival could by no means have been history. For, as one studies method and spirit of those old jottings, priestly or royal, rhapsodic or epic, one grows to understand how large a liberty must first come to human thought before the thing we now call history could be born,

¹ Presidential address read before the American Historical Association, at Cincinnati, December 28, 1916.

and why it was no accident that that birth, when at last it came, came only in the freest of ancient commonwealths at the very acme of its freedom.

The historians of Greek civilization have not failed, indeed, to point out the many steps by which even there that advent was prepared: how the Homeric poems paved the way by their free handling of the gods and of their share in the affairs of men—how Hesiod by his daring to reduce to system myth and legend—how the Ionian philosophers by their new teaching as to the nature and the worth of truth—how Hecataeus by his bold assertion of the right of criticism. But from these to history was yet a mighty stride. Even Hecataeus used free hand only to reject. Topic and matter tradition still supplied him. His story began still with the gods; and from them, unwincing, he traced his own descent.

Then, in the Athens of Pericles, there rose the father of History. Father of the name, he was, as of the thing; and surely seldom, in this world where all things pass by shades into each other, was new departure conceived more clearly or more vividly defined than then was history by Herodotus. Such is just now our emphasis on continuity, which is the condition of all science, that we are in danger of forgetting change, which is the condition of history; and you will pardon me if I pause for a moment on what may seem so tiresomely familiar. "Of the history of Herodotus the Halicarnassian", so began the pregnant opening sentence that stood to him for preface and introduction, "this is a setting forth". That word History (*ιστορία*), which now replaced the verb of simple narration that had still contented Hecataeus, was chosen with care. Set in the forefront like a title and thereby destined to become the current name not only of the book of Herodotus but of the new study it opened, that word was no strange word to his readers. It was only, as we all know, the noun of the familiar verb that meant "to inquire". What Herodotus meant by it we still call "research". What he thus emphasized as marking off his book from others was not his subject, but his method. Hecataeus had asserted his freedom of judgment; but that judgment was subjective. Herodotus asserts his freedom of initiative: what he offers is truth sought out and verified. In the land, in the city, where above all is honored the *ποιητής*, the creator, the artist who can invent and adorn—at Athens, where all things are measured by the standard of "the fair and the good"—Herodotus will set up the new ideal of objective truth, of plodding inquiry. But, if method thus take the foreground, his next words define as clearly the field and the purpose of his book:

"Of the research of Herodotus this is a setting forth", he wrote, "in order that the doings of men may not be obscured by time, nor their achievements, great and wonderful, whether by Greeks or by barbarians wrought, fail of renown". With research he will enter a field heretofore sacred to religion and to poetry; yet he will concern himself not with the gods, but with the affairs of men. He will narrate great deeds; but not those of his own ancestors, his own city—not those of Athens, the home of his exile—not those of the Greeks, his race and that of his readers. "Whether by Greeks or by barbarians wrought": he believes in the worth of great deeds for their own sake, and impartially told. Here forsooth is something new. But he has more to say. His is no vague chronicle, beginning and ending nowhere and wandering at the author's will. As, like a man of science, he has put first his method—as, like a philosopher, he has defined his general aim—so now, like an artist, he seizes him a specific theme, with unity and action of its own. Disdaining all prelude, he launches on the story of that great Graeco-Persian world-struggle he will make central, refusing, even for that, all causes older than the human ones he can himself investigate.

Do we grasp the full significance of his pronouncement? That deed of Herodotus was itself one of the achievements great and wonderful that must not fail of its renown. In all the progress of human thought I know but one transition to match in significance that emancipation of history from poetry: the step, centuries later, by which what we now call natural science turned from the high company of theology and her handmaid philosophy to the humbler but surer path of observation and experiment. In the East, even before Herodotus, the national genius of the Jews had developed, in the study of the past, beginnings of rare promise; but to the end that Hebrew chronicling remained only a Jacob's ladder, with the angels of God ascending and descending between earth and heaven. Only Greece was ripe for the step of Herodotus; and Greece none too ripe. We who measure his work by that which came after, and note how much there was still in him of the love of story-telling, of naïve credulity, of reverence for the gods, forget too often that there were limits to his freedom—that Athens was just passing into the control of the populace, the most conservative of social elements—that, even while he wrote, that populace enacted the law of Diopeithes, which put at the mercy of its juries all who doubted the gods or taught new views—that his friends, an Anaxagoras, a Protagoras, were driven out on that charge.

Herodotus, it is true, was genuinely reverent. The men who

open for their fellows the door to a new era—an Augustine, a Dante—must ever be men of reverence. Only such can gain a hearing. But they are also men of tact. Only such can “put it over”. Yet, if Herodotus revered the gods, he counted their plans unknown alike to all men. If he credited their oracles, he did not overlook how often they are equivocal or misleading. If he listened to dreams, he distrusted their interpreters and knew that oftenest what men dream is but an echo of their waking thoughts. He first among the Greeks showed reverence for the gods of other lands. Strange tales he told, but often to spice them with a doubt; and, even when most naïve, there was shrewd art in his naïveté. Everywhere he asked for evidence, and everywhere made human eyes and ears its test. From first to last his interest was in human affairs and human deeds; and ever, as his work advanced, he wandered less and less from that great central drama he had made his theme.

So did Herodotus educate his readers; and it is the very measure of his achievement that the greater historian who followed him found history free. Thucydides had need no longer to propitiate an audience. He built on the foundations laid by Herodotus; and, if with incomparably more of insight, judgment, self-restraint, he yet but realized the same ideal. For him, too, the field of history was only human affairs, human achievements. He, too, would reach no farther back than the great world-struggle of his yesterday, and even for that would rest at every point upon research. He, too, and even more clearly than Herodotus, aimed at no mere literary success, but at that sternly true discernment and portrayal of human life which should make his work, as he averred, no momentary triumph, but a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶνα*—a thing of worth forever.

Thus high did Thucydides rate the thing we know as history. True, he did not call it by that name; and even Herodotus, though he used that word not only for his research but for the information it brought him, had not so clearly made it cover his narrative itself. But never was literary form less accident than theirs. “Out of purpose and matter is born the form”, said the great historian who a century ago opened a new day for history.² And in that word the Greek public from the first found a name for the new thing as a whole. Though the word might still be used in its old meaning of research in general, it was already to Aristotle, in the next generation, a technical term. Carefully that master of rhetoric discriminates history from poetry. Their difference, he says, is not that

² Ranke, in the preface to his own first book, 1824: “Aus Absicht und Stoff entsteht die Form.” (*Werke*, XXXIII.-XXXIV. vii.)

one is prose, the other verse. Herodotus in verse would still be history. But history must relate the things that actually took place, poetry such things as might take place. Poetry's interest is in the universal, history's in the particular.³

Truth to fact, interest in the particular: to-day as then that description holds. Already history had won in the republic of letters the citizenship that still is hers. And yet—she went no further. In Thucydides history reached the highest point attained in all antiquity. Though in later Greece and in that Rome which was her pupil there rose many who deserve the historian's name, their best work, as men agree, was but approximation to what Thucydides had done. Why? Was it in any wise from lack of freedom?

Not of religious freedom. The tact of Herodotus, the self-restraint of Thucydides, had their reward. Athens voted the Hali-carnassian not exile but ten talents. It was Socrates the philosopher who went to his death for impiety. But we are growing wiser than to measure the fruits of intolerance by death sentences. The matter is more complex. Even religious intolerance is such, not because religion is so intolerant, but only because intolerance is so religious. The veriest skeptic of us cannot get hot about the collar without dropping into religion for an oath. If we keep our temper, our intolerance, though perhaps as deadly, loses its flavor of piety; and, since now what seems to us shaken is not the pillars of the universe, but only those of society, or perhaps of business, we may substitute for a heresy trial mere starvation through loss of place or of good name. But for the repression of man or of idea there is no need of malice—or of intent. Simple neglect will do as well. And for new ideas there is an attitude more fatal still: kindly inertia. That inertia, I mean, which listens and applauds, but never grasps the point; that inertia which welcomes every new-coined phrase, but uses it not for the new idea, but as a blank check for ideas in general or no idea at all; that inertia which for every new thing must find a place in old categories, though in doing so it trim away its very identity; that inertia which is forever doing the new the honor to lift it into good society by identifying it with something old.

How was it with history among the ancients? A scholar whose special fitness for the task will not be questioned, Hermann Peter, the foremost student of ancient historiography, has devoted a volume to what he deems the cause of that stagnation. He finds the explanation, as have others before him, in the conquest of history by rhetoric. "The general public", he tells us, "found it more delight-

³ Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX. 3.

ful and convenient to listen to a melodious style, an entertaining narrative, and the historians gladly let themselves be led by this current, since it promised the greater applause."⁴ Parting company with philosophy, its fellow in the search for truth, what still called itself history became the tool of the politician, the advocate, the popular lecturer, the literary artist—of all who would win by its means a selfish end. They talked still of research, but it was for rhetorical effect. They took their story as they found it, if only they could delight the popular taste. Herodotus and Thucydides were still admired; but it was for their style or their success. Now and then a bold thinker, such as Polybius, rose again to the great thought of the masters and prized historical truth; but not even such could free themselves from slavery to rhetoric—its demands absorbed their best time and effort. Thus Hermann Peter; and, though his colors are dark, few will question their essential truth who remember the rooted aestheticism of Graeco-Roman culture.

The historian, then, was not yet wholly free. Herodotus and Thucydides had won for history a hearing, and for themselves a fame that tempted imitators. They had not created for it a public; and without a public there could be, for the mass of scholars, no economic freedom. That the bar was economic, at least in great part, is suggested not alone by the gap between ideals and practice—what nobler ideal for the truth of history could there be than that which Cicero declares the accepted one, to dare no falsehood nor conceal a truth nor be suspect of favor or of guile?⁵—but by what we know of the financial fortunes of those who approached most nearly such ideals. Herodotus and Thucydides were men of family and doubtless of estate, able to travel and writing in the leisure and the detachment of exile. So, too, of course, was Polybius, the guest-friend of the Scipios. The statesman Caesar, the courtier Tacitus, the retired officer Ammianus, were, like them, favorites of fortune—or knew how to master fortune. If even for these the tide had grown too strong, where should ordinary men find encouragement or means for the search of documents, the verification of evidence, the patient sifting and weighing? Whence could come the chairs, the endowments, the libraries and archives, the public subsidies, while as yet no public demand existed? The ten talents

⁴ Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im Klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 125.

⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, II. 15: "Quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne quae simultatis? Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus."

granted by Athens to Herodotus did not prove a precedent; and even they were doubtless a crowning of the patriot, the artist, rather than the historian.

But, back of all this, *why?* *Why* no public? *Why* no demand? What thus for centuries enslaved and sterilized history was, I am convinced, no set antipathy, no ill will at all. It was mere inertia. No age ever needed history more; but this age had failed to grasp its nature and its worth. The standards of the age were those of art, and it asked only that history be "raised to an art". And one remembers how Guizot ascribes the short life of ancient civilizations to their want of variety in institutions and ideals.

It was Christianity, thinks Hermann Peter, that freed history from rhetoric and restored truth to the throne. Alas, what that new age enthroned was not truth, but *the* Truth. In the field of morals, it is true, the new faith taught sincerity. True, too, its earliest teachers, filled with their message, were impatient of rhetoric and even of grammar, boasting themselves lovers not of words but of things. True, its philosopher apologists, led to the new religion by that search for truth still taught by philosophy, and finding in it the goal of their search, asked for it nothing but freedom and fancied it needed only a hearing to convert the world. True, the imperial convert who at last endowed it with the longed-for freedom based his act on the premise that Heaven itself would have religions free. Moreover, Christianity was an historical religion: its basis not a cosmogony or a priestly code or a series of visions or a metaphysical system, but the story of a life—its prime documents a group of biographies. And these biographies linked the story of the master to the long annals of his people, whose history, like their law, their poetry, and the lofty teaching of their prophets, became the heritage of the younger faith. In that Hebrew literature, which carried them back to the very creation, and in the world-wide outlook of their own aspiring sect, Christian scholars now found inspiration for the first thought of a history truly universal, and with zeal took up the great task of knitting into a single story the chronologies of Orient and Occident.

But—to Christian historians the biographies which were the starting-point of that Christian historiography were the record of no merely human life. That long history which was now their preamble was the sacred story of the chosen people, with its Jacob's ladder forever linking earth to heaven. The central actor was Jehovah, now the God of all the earth. About that story and its culmination in the Gospels all other history must now fall into

place; and from the sacred record—for the record too is sacred—may be learned the plans of the Omnipotent. It was Jerome who now found them in the interpretations and the visions of Daniel—in the image with head of gold and belly of brass, in the four great beasts that came up out of the sea—and from his day on almost to ours the changing empires of earth have been forced to find a place within that scheme. Whatever in non-sacred annals was found in conflict with Holy Writ must be discarded. What was left must be adjusted to its words. Man's career on earth became a fall. Nor might human wit exalt itself: Pythagoras and Plato had learned from Moses, Seneca from Paul.

Yet history was still of moment, and earth was still its scene. But when the religious genius of Augustine, turning with disdain from earthly story, centred all interest on a State of God which filled the universe, and traced from revelation its career, even from the primal counsels of eternity to the ultimate goal of prophecy in the New Jerusalem, leaving to earth and time but a poor midway span—when even in that earthly span man's place was but a puppet's, his impulses the voice of guardian angel or besetting fiend, and all the spheres 'twixt Empyrean and Hell the battleground of God and Satan—when, to the growing exegesis of the Church, not even Holy Writ itself was prized for the poor literal facts of history, but for those deeper meanings, allegorical, moral, anagogical, mystical, to be discerned beneath: then history, like all else, was lost in theology.

The Middle Age did not dis sever them. Nay, to forbid it there grew to completeness that consummate preserver of the unity of thought, the procedure against heresy. And to the end of that long age of faith history did not escape the paternal eye. Yet even through that age history lived on. Great was often her freedom in all that lay beyond the line of sacred. Ever and again a biographer or a contemporary historian—an Einhard or a Nithard in the ninth century, a Villehardouin or a Joinville in the thirteenth—showed how vigorous still could be the interest in human affairs and human deeds. All through that age one finds by snatches abundant proof of the same impulse. And long before the ending of that age the clergy's scribbling habit was heaping up materials that should one day prove rich for history. That they did not fruit in history then was due, I am convinced, far less to intolerance than to inertia. Revelation sufficed. "For we Christians", Augustine had said, "stayed by divine authority in the history of our religion, doubt not the utter falsehood of whatever contravenes it, and know that whatever else there be in secular writings, true or

false, is of no moment to our right and blessed living." "Stayed by divine authority": ah, that was what contented the Middle Ages. What room in any soul for interest in human affairs when all the history worth while had been worked out and made a part of the great scheme of salvation? What need of insight or research when history had been "raised to a philosophy"?

Even when the Middle Ages waned, the revived study of the ancients and the rise of a lay republic of letters did not at first, one must confess, greatly advantage the freedom of history. The courtier humanist charged with a biography of his princely patron or a history of his dynasty, the humanist chancellor commissioned by the city fathers to write the history of the town, was perhaps less free to find or tell the truth than had been the churchly chronicler unhampered by hereditary lords or local vanity. The audience, too, was humanist, and the tyranny of rhetoric, never wholly dispelled throughout the Middle Ages, now reasserted itself with double power. It was the humanist historian's very function to make the glories of his prince or of his city a vehicle for the display of the Latin style to which he owed his post. And if history, thus again an art, a branch of literature, dared in a field so secular to shun the mention of ecclesiastical miracle and even to forget the great plan of salvation, it was too often to borrow from the ancients a strange varnish of omen and of prodigy.

But, little by little, the two civilizations thus face to face brought reciprocal emancipation. The scholars forced to trim between the two grew critical of both. A Petrarch sifting for a Luxemburg emperor the Austrian charters, a Valla detecting for Alfonso of Naples the absurdity of the Donation of Constantine, might still reach only the results their lords desired; but they reached them by methods sound and full of startling suggestiveness. And when a Valla, thus accredited, but at no master's beck, found flaws as well in sainted Vulgate and in scarce less sainted Livy, the age of free inquiry had dawned. In that new atmosphere of intellectual alertness, there came now to the helm in Church and State men of keen vision and of open mind. For three-quarters of a century there ripened in Italy and spread through Europe a freedom of thought and speech not reached again till our day. The growing zeal for knowledge found employment for others than dilettanti; and at Rome, where world-wide interests and rich archives offered the scholar yet another freedom, there now dawned once more upon a plodding functionary the great thought of Herodotus. Flavio Biondo was no genius like the Greek; but his honest soul had caught

the meaning of research, and the fruits his years of downright toil wrung from the fallow medieval centuries stirred abler minds to imitation. A humanist pope, himself no mean historian, gave Biondo's labors vogue by an abridgment in more flowing Latin. A humanist librarian of the Vatican used his treasures for a history of the popes which in its chatty frankness forgot both rhetoric and religious awe. And while there thus revived at Rome, and soon beyond the Alps, the spirit of Herodotus, there was born again in free and democratic Florence the spirit of Thucydides. A Machiavelli, a Guicciardini, a Varchi, brought to bear upon the history of earlier days and of their own the trained political experience and social insight gained by touch with practical affairs. And even before such models could exert their charm, the keen eyes of a Philippe de Commynes were busy in France and Burgundy, and Venice was extorting from her diplomats such masterpieces of political alertness as attest how ripe the time was growing.

Nor from that day has history languished. To her freedom there came, indeed, sudden check with the great religious reaction we call the Reformation. Once more human affairs sank into insignificance. Less by far than that of the older church did the theology of Luther or Calvin accord reality or worth to human effort. Luther valued history, it is true, but only as a divine lesson; and Melancthon set himself to trace in it the hand of God, adjusting all its teachings to the need of Protestant dogma. Had either Papist or Lutheran brought unity to Christendom, history again must have become the handmaid of theology. But, while the struggle lasted, both sides had other use for her. And now it came to history's profit that Christianity is an historical religion. Not in the court of metaphysics, but at the bar of sober fact, had Protestant and Catholic to make good their charges and their claims; and by such evidence as should not only quiet the devout but rout opponents and convince the hesitant. At bottom, too, they were honest and earnest men who strove, convinced each of the soundness of his cause and eager to prove it by research. To discomfit the Magdeburg centuriators a Baronius printed wholesale the archives of the Vatican. To rescue what could yet be saved of the prestige of the saints the Bollandists outdid their Calvinist critics in relentless sifting of the legends. Contemporary annalists vied with each other in savage suspicion—and in documentation. Soon on both sides came internal rivalries: Calvinist impeached Lutheran, and Anglican Calvinist—Benedictine rallied to defend against Jesuit his ancient charters. And on all sides this wealth of study brought

keener insight, fairer judgment, deeper interest in human affairs.

Were my theme the freedom, not of history, but of the historian, there would be another tale to tell: how a Christendom divided into camps made travel perilous, hampered research, cut short the intercourse of scholars; how Inquisition was reinforced by Index, and State united with Church for the muzzling of the press; how the civil power, leaned on yet more heavily by Protestant than Catholic, put at the beck of religious party all its means of repression, and how, as religious passion died and religious conviction grew hollow, that civil power made religious pretext serve its own ends and built up for the State a repression more unscrupulous. But, if the works of Guicciardini, left unpublished at his death, could see print only after mutilation, and Varchi's must wait two centuries for print at all—if even old Platina must find place upon the Index—if Giannone atoned for his history of Naples by ending his days in a Savoyard dungeon, or even in Switzerland Johann von Müller must fend off the censor by making Bern read Boston in his imprint—such things as these but muzzled history. In their own way they were, indeed, a tribute to her success and her importance; and, though for a time they made historians cautious and often silent, the time came when such censures were the fortune of a book, and publishers intrigued for them to quicken sales. Under the very shelter of that censorship the churchly scholars worked out the sciences of research and piled up great tomes of sifted record which should one day equip both friend and foe; and in defiance of that censorship unchurchly scholars—Bayle, Montesquieu, Voltaire—shut out from the archives of states and churches, broadened history to the story of civilization and made it teach the experience of mankind. Kings were their disciples; and, however vigorously the “enlightened despots” wielded still the censorship in their own defense, they called historians to university chairs and to the keeping of their libraries and archives.

Even the French Revolution, which swept their work away and would fain wipe all things out to build them new, proved no serious interruption. The problems born of its new freedom, the wider interests bred by its democracy, the sobering lessons taught by its collapse, stirred in its sons an appetite for history to match that of its reactionary foes; and, in its sweep over Europe, it had sequestered everywhere for public use treasures of book and manuscript which now for the first time became accessible to the world of scholars. And in the train of this cataclysm came the great inventions and administrative devices—postal system and steamship, railway and tele-

graph—which have yet more freed the historian from the bonds of time and space. Of what these have made possible in the century behind us I do not need to speak: of the organization of historians, the great enterprises, national and international, the subsidies of governments, the aid from institutions of learning—the co-operation of neighbor studies—of the resulting wealth of production, the broadening of history's scope, the democratizing of all her interests. The new friends brought, indeed, new perils. How Napoleon dealt with history and historians is a commonplace. The "Göttingen seven" may remind us of the temper of the Reaction. '48 had too its martyrs, among them Mommsen. What indignant religion still could do is suggested by the academic careers of Strauss and Renan—to come no nearer. State endowments and state professorships have brought the state new power to reward or punish. Prizes, orders, decorations, social preferment, have proved an influence sometimes more seductive—and not unused. The Roman Index still persists, revised and rejuvenated at the opening of the twentieth century by the same pope who opened to scholars the treasures of the Vatican; and only last year saw placed upon it the latest volume of the most scholarly of church historians. Nor is all clear sailing ahead. The *Polizeistaat* of present-day Europe is no Elysium of intellectual freedom, as we shall know when some day it is safe to tell its story; nor are the rising theories of collectivism much more reassuring than those of state omnipotence. To any who think our easy-going America is at bottom more tolerant let me commend the essay in which one of our own number has over the shoulders of Kansas laid playful lash on our society as a whole.⁶ How fragile is all liberty in time of stress we need just now no reminder; and I trust that the doughty publisher who has given us so fair-minded a history of the censorship of the Church may survive to attempt a study which will more severely test his impartiality—on the censorship of the present war.

But through all this, though historians have suffered, history herself has come unscathed. Her conception of her task has deepened and broadened. The sciences of nature and of mind have relieved her of much that she once thought it hers to explain. The new sciences of society have enriched her with a background and are daily illumining her results by theirs. She herself is learning to ply at need their methods and has thus bridged many a gap. But she is still free to make her central task that of Herodotus and

⁶ Carl Becker, "Kansas" (in *Essays in American History dedicated to F. J. Turner*, New York, 1910.)

Thucydides, of Biondo and Guicciardini: her method research, her theme human experience and human effort, her aim to understand and to portray.

Yet no. From the side of our neighbors who are devoted to the method of study which in our day has monopolized the name of science, and from the great and growing public whose intellectual habits have been shaped by this, there has come again and again a demand that history be "raised to a science". It has found spokesmen not only in men of science, but among historians themselves. Sometimes these have been content with refusing to history a scientific rank; but oftener, denying it all worth, they have proposed to assimilate its method to theirs or to adopt its name for their own science. Thus Auguste Comte a century ago would turn it into sociology; and, in like fashion since, the adepts of one and another study. Only the other day a colleague of our own, in a learned and thoughtful booklet, claimed its name for anthropology.⁷

Let it not be thought that I deprecate such discussion. Discussion is above all things to be welcomed, and deep should be our gratitude to those who meet us on its plane. Let us learn from them all we can. What I deprecate is only that inertia which does not take the trouble to think, but is always for whatever seems to make its intellectual labor easy by levelling distinctions. How in antiquity that inertia "raised" history to an art, how in the Middle Age to a philosophy, I have tried to tell you. Even in success the laziness of that inertia showed its cloven foot; for the art imposed on history was not true art, but conventional artifice—the philosophy that smothered history was not free speculation, but veiled authority. From the point of view of art or of philosophy, history, if approached in freedom by thinking men, could well have vindicated her right to be. And to-day it is not against any effort to test her scientific worth that she demurs, but against the imposition upon her, by those who have not waited to understand what she herself is about, of a method born of other needs and meant for other ends—a method itself not free from metaphysical taint, and often, as urged on history, a cloak but too transparent for the yea or nay of dogma.

The rise, among students of these sciences, of such an attitude is not hard to explain. While as yet it was history alone that studied the past her name came to be used, in current speech, not only for all study of the past, but for the past itself; and, when the rising sciences learned too to use "the historical method"—to study things in their becoming as well as in their being—they too in this

⁷ Frederick J. Teggart, *Prolegomena to History* (Berkeley, 1916).

sense studied history. As man is of course a child of nature, he too came within the scope of these sciences; and, while biology and anthropology thus studied man's career as animal, the new sciences of society took fruitful cognizance, and by a kindred method, of his development in family and tribe, community and race, and the systematic sciences of mind dealt with all the phases and activities of his intellectual life. What wonder that those devoted to this method of study have found it hard to see what place is left for history? To make that word cover all study of the past would make it inclusive of all sciences; and, recognizing that history has had special connection with things human, they have assumed its narrower field to be the human past and that whatever studies the human past is history. But this is rash. Not so has science grown. The sciences, like the arts, were born of practical needs. Their fields were not cut four-square out of the blue, like a western state or a theme for a doctor's thesis. They did but stumble on them, playing with the tools of the busy arts after the day's work. What justified them then, what justifies them now, is not their fitting into any scheme for the division of knowledge, but the worth of what they seek and their effectiveness in seeking it. The formal sciences, mathematics and logic, deal with all that is; but they do not shut out physics, nor physics chemistry, nor these biology, from a like free range. There is no study that is but may throw light upon the past of man. That for his knowledge of that past man needs physical sciences, biological sciences, social sciences, goes without saying. It nowise follows that these or any of these are history, or that history is not needed too. What history is, what history is for, must be asked of history herself.

But here perhaps our scientific neighbor interrupts: "Of history herself? Ah, you mean historiography." Well, to shelve as historiography what has so long been known as history and then to borrow the ancient name for some new use of her materials, reminds me, I confess, of that old derivation of Middletown from Moses—by dropping -oses and adding -iddletown. But what, then, has that old-fashioned history to say for herself? Why should she still be free? Freedom is not air or sunlight, ample for all. Freedom is elbow-room—and elbow-room in a crowd. Why in this huddled, hustling world should that old history take space or time?

It does not depend on whether that history is a science or an art or a philosophy or mixed of all or apart from all. All these may be ways to truth. Such classifications describe; they do not prescribe. To the logicians themselves their boundaries are shadowy. Benedetto Croce, who seems once to have reckoned history a science, a

dozen years ago pronounced it art, and later has identified it with philosophy. But by a science he did not mean a natural science; when he called it art he added "but without loss of loyalty to fact"; and when he declared it philosophy he explained that this is only when philosophy has become history.⁸ These are but a poet's discernings of the underlying unity of truth, and mean to us in practice no more than when his opponent Aliotta tells us that "the severance commonly made between history and philosophy and history and science is a practical device justified by the limited nature of the human mind" and that "to a thought capable of taking in at once all the universal and special determinations in the single fact there would be no such thing as a plurality of sciences, there would be only science, that is to say philosophy, which would also have the concreteness of history".⁹ To a philosopher, whose function it is to see existence as a whole and interpret it to his own generation, such vistas matter much; but to us who still toil with our nets in the ocean of truth they are not the lights of port, but only the far glimmer of the dawn.

Yet, in the fruits of our toil, even our neighbors have seen some use. Professor Ritchie has called history the laboratory of politics; and I suppose that all the studies which deal with human affairs would grant to it this lowly task of hewer of wood. More reassuring has been what in these latter days philosophy has learned from studying what history actually is and does. Even Henri Berr, the clever realist who, while the idealists were writing books, founded instead a review,¹⁰ tells us, in the volume in which at the end of a decade he sums up his teachings and urges the substitution of sociology for what has hitherto been called history, that "it cannot be denied that history responds to needs profound and immediate, distinct both from aesthetic curiosity and from the curiosity" which he counts "properly scientific". There is, he says, "a sort of vital instinct", common alike to peoples and to individuals, which interests them in their ancestors and in the past, and which "tends, so to speak, to root and perpetuate their moral being". Wherefore he is inclined to think that, even after his new science has taken shape,

⁸ Benedetto Croce, *Il Concetto della Storia* (second ed., Rome, 1896); *Estetica* (Milan, 1902), p. 29 (p. 44 of Douglas Ainslie's English translation, London, 1909); and pp. 213-215 of his chapter on the function of logic in Arnold Ruge's *Encyclopaedie der Philosophischen Wissenschaften*, I. (Tübingen, 1912).

⁹ Antonio Aliotta, *The Idealistic Reaction against Science*, translation by Agnes McCaskill (London, 1914), p. 445. This passage is in the pages added for the English edition.

¹⁰ The *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, 1900 ff.).

"this description of the past, this empirical reconstruction of vanished reality", will not be wholly useless.¹¹

Much more encouraging to history are the findings of that new idealism which in its multitudinous forms, on both sides of the Channel and of the Atlantic, has been the most notable movement of present-day thought. Not only do its spokesmen find history fundamental to those "sciences of mind" which they now sharply discriminate in aim and method from the "sciences of nature", but they rate it a science itself, though with a method of its own, and have set themselves at formulating the logic of that method. If some in their zeal have gone too far in restricting its processes to those peculiar to itself, it is much to have recognized these and their worth. But, though they rate high its quest of knowledge, these thinkers discern in history something more. Already in 1883 Dilthey, in his foundation-laying "Introduction to the Sciences of Mind", pointed out that the experience we broaden through history, the life we live in it, is of a piece with our own living, and, like it, not a means, but an end in itself;¹² and others, developing this thought, have shown how only through thus coming into touch with life in all its concrete complexity, with life in process of being lived, can men or peoples enter into fullness of living.¹³ And they point out how over and above the dramatic interest, the compelling power, which history shares with the great creations of literature (they too reproductions of life), there is in history another and a special potency because of its reality—the one wholly concrete reality with which human study deals.¹⁴ Thus has the systematic thought of our day seemed to arrive at what was urged a century ago by Wilhelm von Humboldt and a generation ago by the great English historian and teacher of history who taught that history's highest use is in itself, its object not primarily knowledge, but "travel, acquaintance, experience, life".

But to the student of freedom there reveals itself in history another value—a value that makes the freedom of history vital to us all. To point it out is the culmination of my message. It is that on the freedom *in* history—and so, perforce, on the freedom *of* history—all our other freedom rests.

Let me illustrate.

¹¹ Henri Berr, *La Synthèse en Histoire* (Paris, 1911), pp. 255, 256.

¹² Wilhelm Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1883), I. 114.

¹³ Especially Eduard Spranger, *Die Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 143-145.

¹⁴ E.g., Georg Simmel, *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie*, 2 Aufl. (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 134-142.

On the altar of her method of study [writes the eloquent sociologist Gumplowicz], sociology sacrifices—man. He, the lord of creation, the author of historical events as the historians think, he who as monarch or as minister guides according to his will the destiny of peoples . . . sinks away, in sociology, to a meaningless *cipher*. In complete contradiction to the portrayals of the historians, even the mightiest statesman is for the point of view of the sociologist only a blind tool in the invisible but all-powerful hand of his social group, which itself in turn only follows an irresistible law of nature.¹⁵

Now, if this be true and if the method of sociology be all, of what use for even the mightiest statesman to exert himself? Of what use for him to study sociology? Yet even Gumplowicz surely was not writing for the mere joy of utterance. He hoped for readers, and for readers who would act upon his teachings. Even he assumes and builds upon a freedom which for the method of sociology does not exist. For what study does it exist? Only for history. For literature, yes; but only as literature borrows from history—and would grow fantastic if not held forever to the test of history. What Gumplowicz affirms for sociology he would unquestionably affirm for every systematic science, from physics to psychology.

Yet this freedom nobody denies. I am not dealing in metaphysics. I am not talking of what is called “the freedom of the will”. I speak of a practical freedom, recognized alike by determinist and indeterminist—nay, it is the determinist who just now is the more strenuous in his insistence on this freedom of action and of choice. Without it there could be, of course, no worth in foresight, no use in education. Without it all other freedom, of voice or pen, would be a mockery. Whatever may explain or lie behind it, who will question that on it rests all purpose, effort, character?

That all those who speak for the sciences of nature and of society are as extreme in statement as Gumplowicz I am far from saying. That some day their sciences, too, will give more thought to the individual I do not doubt. But that their method of study—the method now urged on history—has ignored his freedom is patent. Take the books of even the most strenuous believers in that freedom. Take that eloquent survey of anthropology with which

¹⁵ Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Sociologie und Politik* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 54: “Auf dem Altar ihrer Erkenntnis opfert die Sociologie—den Menschen! Er, der Herr der Schöpfung, der Urheber historischer Ereignisse nach der Meinung der Historiker, der als Monarch oder Minister die Geschicke der Völker nach seinem Willen lenkt . . . er sinkt in der Sociologie zu einer bedeutungslosen Null herab. Ganz im Gegensatz zu den Schilderungen der Historiker ist für die Betrachtungsweise des Sociologen auch der mächtigste Staatsmann nur ein blindes Werkzeug in der unsichtbaren aber übermächtigen Hand seiner socialen Gruppe, die selber wieder nur einem unwiderstehlichen socialen Naturgesetze folgt.”

Eduard Meyer has prefaced his great history of antiquity, though protesting against any confusion of the two studies and jealously guarding history's point of view. See how in it men and peoples seem mere victims of the great abstractions—how all things do themselves. Then turn and read the pages of his history. But why should not the sciences of law have their own method? How else could they have mastered for us that overwhelming universe of which it was theirs to give us rational conception? In all that universe there is only a single being—man—to whom we need give other thought as well. That for man we need it is not—and herein lies a fundamental misconception of history's critics—because we count him better or other than the rest of nature. It is only because of the accident that we ourselves are men. Were we oysters or cabbages instead, it would be oysterdom or cabbagedom that thus concerned us. But, being men, and having to be men, there is for us in human life a something for which we need and have a special key. It is the sphere of freedom. Measured by bulk, that sphere is small indeed; and science after science—anthropology, sociology, anthropogeography, psychology individual and social—has cut down what we thought its limits. But in exact proportion to this narrowing has risen for us its importance; for, small or great, it measures our significance.

Who does not remember Mark Twain's first diary: "Got up, washed, went to bed,—Got up, washed, went to bed"? Why is it so funnily stupid? It is all true. It is all important—to the anthropologist. A science based on it would answer perfectly the test of Auguste Comte—"knowledge, whence foreknowledge". But why care for foreknowledge? Surely, for science, which is timeless, after-knowledge is as good. Auguste Comte himself makes answer: "knowledge, whence foreknowledge; foreknowledge, whence action."¹⁶ Action? Even to Auguste Comte, then, life is, above all, an art.

And who can question it? How does its every activity win from us that name as soon as it gains its freedom: the art of courtesy, the art of conversation, the art of coquetry, the art of persuasion, the art of diplomacy, the art of leadership. Life—the life that counts, the life of freedom—is made up of such. Life is the sum of all the arts. But life should be yet more. For it must knit and blend all these into a higher art, the art of living, and with finest sense for beauty as for use.

How does one learn an art? One may use science, indeed. For

16. "*Science, d'où prévoyance; prévoyance, d'où action: telle est la formule très-simple qui exprime, d'une manière exacte, la relation générale de la science et de l'art.*" *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (Paris, 1830), I. 63.

any art one does well to equip one's self with knowledge of its elements and laws. But who would stop—or start—with these? One goes straight to art itself. One shares its work; one lives its life. One learns by imitation; by all that mingled wealth of admiration, repulsion, suggestion, adaptation, that springs from the immediate touch of life with life. But back of this: whence comes creative impulse? Where is freedom born? Long ago that question was answered. "It is life that quickeneth." We, whose craft it is to make men men, know well how before all training must come the vital touch that kindles interest, that stirs endeavor.

In our day again a great French sociologist has set men thinking. To Gabriel Tarde it is imitation that is the substance of our lives. But he does not restrict its action to lives contiguous: "its influence is exerted", he says, "not only from great distances, but over great intervals of time"—"between Lycurgus and a member of the French Convention, between the Roman painter of a Pompeian fresco and the modern decorator whom it inspires." "Imitation", he declares, "is generation at a distance."¹⁷ And back of imitation he finds in life what is yet more important: the source of all imitation—and its goal as well. This he calls "invention".¹⁸ I think we know it better as initiative. And this, whence comes all social change, like imitation, whence comes social order, he traces ever to the individual life. Now, the individual life—private or public, life of individual man or individual group—lives on in history alone. That life of imitation and initiative she alone makes central. Her method partakes of art, not from disloyalty to science, but because this life of freedom is itself an art, and only by art can be interpreted or shared.

But long, long ago, ages before the slow eye of science had begun to spy this, the sound instinct of human kind had found in life itself the school for action. Religion had caught its lessons, and, endowing with man's life and freedom the elemental powers, had written those lessons on the skies. Poetry took up the message, and, first of the arts, wrought out in winged words her visions of how on earth that life, that freedom, had been incarnate in heroes. But, as that freedom ripened, there came a day when on a thoughtful exile, watching how freemen gather experience in a world of fact and how a high-souled statesman moves them to great deeds, there broke another vision. Then, in the Athens of Pericles, there rose the father of History.

GEORGE L. BURR.

¹⁷ *Les Lois de l'Imitation* (Paris, 1890), pp. 37, 38; p. 34 of the English translation (New York, 1903).

¹⁸ "Tout n'est socialement qu' inventions et imitations, et celles-ci sont les fleuves dont celles-là sont les montagnes." (*Ibid.*, p. 3.)

THE WEST INDIA TRADE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE subject with which this paper deals has not lacked for treatment within the last few years but the need for more minute study is clearly apparent. The actual mechanism of the trade has not as yet been sufficiently examined. Only vaguely do we know the kind of vessels employed, the routes followed, and the methods of sale, remittance, and insurance. It has been the writer's endeavor to throw some light on these minor points through the study of documents not formerly brought under contribution.¹ But the difficulties in the way of successful presentation are great. One deals with methods of operation so various as almost to defy classification, with statistics notoriously inaccurate,² and with weights, measures, and money values of local and changing determination.³ Some indulgence may then be granted if the picture presented seems unduly intricate and if finality is at times lacking in the conclusions presented.

In the matter of goods actually exchanged and the localities whence they were derived little can be added to the store of information long accessible, and a brief restatement of the main facts will suffice. The needs of the British West Indies for provisions and lumber were met alike by all of the continental colonies; but of the

¹ In particular the Minutes of the Committee of Trade in the Public Record Office, London (cited P. R. O., B. T. 5); the Clifford Papers and the Pemberton Papers in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (cited Clifford Papers and Pemberton Papers); the uncatalogued family papers of Joseph H. Coates, Esq., of Philadelphia (cited Coates Papers); and the collection of commercial correspondence recently published by the Massachusetts Historical Society as *Commerce of Rhode Island*, vols. I. and II. (cited *Com. of R. I.*).

² The figures furnished by the few surviving official records are nearly always far below the true ones: report of the former inspector-general of exports and imports in America, Irving, to the Committee of Trade, P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, p. 135; report of the governor of Jamaica on the trade of the island, P. R. O., C. O. 137: 33. McPherson (*Annals of Commerce*, III. 572, note) also calls attention to this fact.

³ Thus a "thousand" feet of lumber might represent 1000 or 1200 ft., a barrel of flour might be "lightly" or firmly packed, and a hogshead of sugar might contain 12 cwt. or 14. Finally, the pound sterling was worth anywhere from 28 to 160 shillings in the currencies of the various colonies. *Negociator's Magazine* (London, 1754), pp. 213, 214.

latter, certain groups largely controlled the export of particular articles. Pennsylvania and New York, with some assistance from Maryland and Virginia, offered virtually the whole amount of flour and bread; New England, through the industry of its citizens and their trade with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, stood responsible for most of the fish and oil, though large quantities of both reached the islands through the markets of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York. Pennsylvania again led in supplying beef, pork, hams, and tongues, but her exports were heavily supplemented by those of Virginia and North Carolina. Corn and peas came from the same colonies with the addition of Maryland, while South Carolina and Georgia made their principal contribution in rice.⁴ Lumber was to be had at most of the North American ports, but here again distinctions must be made. The southern colonies led in supplying staves of red oak for sugar hogsheads and of white oak for rum casks. Their planks of oak and yellow pine stood in great demand, and their cypress shingles were much preferred to the white cedar shingles sold by the colonies of the middle group. Only in the export of boards and scantling did the New England colonies hold first place, and even there only in the quantity, not the quality, of the goods supplied.⁵ Besides these staples many other articles found place in the cargoes which passed constantly to the tropics: horses and other live stock, minor food-stuffs such as butter, cheese, potatoes, and fruit, or manufactures in the shape of soap, lamp oil, pottery, chintzes, and shoes. A widely varied assortment was usually to be found in a single ship. The return ladings from the islands were more restricted in variety and in bulk. Rum, molasses, and sugar naturally predominated in the order named, but coffee and cotton, ginger and pimento, mahogany and logwood, with hides and indigo all found frequent mention in the bills of lading.

The general dimensions of the trade may be estimated with fair accuracy as regards the southbound cargoes, and in so far as we may rely upon official returns. One year with another, the continental colonies exported to the islands goods to a value in American ports of £500,000 sterling. By the addition of the heavy freight charges which commodities so great in bulk as compared with cost of production necessarily bore, a value of £725,000 sterling in West

⁴ P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, pp. 91, 93, 124; Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404. McPherson (*Annals*, III. 572) points out that Pa., Mass., Conn., Va., N. Y., R. I., S. C., N. H., and Md. were the heaviest exporters to the West Indies in the order named.

⁵ See note 4, also P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, pp. 103, 124, 140, 152; Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 22677, f. 69.

Indian ports was reached.⁶ The subjoined table⁷ will show the quantities in which the principal articles involved were sent to the islands. As regards the northbound cargoes no satisfactory estimates either as to values or as to quantities can be made. The West Indians paid for American provisions and lumber in shipments of their produce to North America, in shipments to England, in cash,⁸ and in bills of exchange.⁹ The North Americans often secured part or all of their return ladings in the French and Dutch islands, and succeeded in entering large quantities of this foreign produce as goods of British origin. Hence it could not even then be ascertained what returns in the direct shipment of their own produce the British islands were able to make. The most trustworthy of the various contemporary estimates places the value of these shipments at £400,000 sterling in West Indian¹⁰ or £420,000 sterling in North

⁶ B. T. 5: 1, pp. 12, 158, 159, 160; *ibid.*, 4, p. 468. Irving estimated that the freight charges on lumber and corn amounted to 100 per cent. of the prime cost, on all articles to 45 per cent. Rates ranged from 35 to 40 shillings per ton. The committee of West India merchants, against whom Irving was testifying, practically agreed to his figures.

⁷ This table shows the quantities of American provisions and lumber annually consumed in the British West Indies during the years 1771-1773. It is compiled from three tables furnished by Irving (B. T. 5: 1, pp. 90-102), by Edward Long (Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404), and by a copy of a report issued by the London Custom House in March, 1775, and signed by Stanley, the secretary (Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12431, f. 170).

Bread and flour,	130,000 bbls.
Beef and pork,	15,000 "
Fish,	17,000 hogsheads
	16,000 bbls.
	12,000 quintals
Corn,	400,000 bush.
Rice,	20,000 bbls.
Boards and planks,	21,000 thousand
Staves and heading,	17,000 "
Hoops,	1,900 "
Shingles,	16,000 "

⁸ See note 73.

⁹ See note 76.

¹⁰ This is the estimate furnished by Irving to the Committee of Trade. The conflicting nature of the evidence both as to the quantities of British West India produce exported to the continental colonies and as to the value of the whole illustrates the difficulty of reaching final conclusions in regard to many phases of colonial trade at this time. Custom-house records even when discoverable are practically worthless. Bryan Edwards (*Thoughts on the Late Proceedings of Government*, London, 1784) points out that many of the bays, creeks, and shipping places in the islands were remote from the ports of entry and that the masters of American vessels, in order to save delay, made manifests and took out

American ports.¹¹

In approaching the methods by which this trade was carried on it is best to consider first that part—a part constituting indeed all but a small fraction of the whole—which was completely or principally in American hands. And here at once there becomes necessary a certain mental readjustment. One must commence by discarding all ideas of business corporations, of shipping lines and liners, of fixed routes, of insurance companies—in short, all familiar notions of the present mechanism of commerce. The American merchants of the day traded individually or in loose partnerships. Their largest ventures seldom involved sums of more than a few hundred pounds¹² and the most wealthy and prosperous were not above giving attention to the minutiae of small transactions. Many of their letters to captains and commercial correspondents read like communications between familiar friends. Price schedules and accounts of sales jostle continually with inquiries concerning the health of the recipient and his “dear” family, with announcements of the sending of gifts and with the extending of invitations, all couched in terms of the utmost cordiality. Moreover the business methods

clearances in advance. In his opinion they usually took out more produce than they entered. But clearances were at times granted for empty casks and hogsheads, which were filled in the foreign islands. That officials in continental ports were guilty of permitting the entry of foreign produce as goods of British origin is well known. (See, *e. g.*, G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy 1754–1765*, New York, 1907, p. 239.) Nor are the estimates of the best-informed contemporaries of greater value. At the great inquiry held by the Committee of Trade in 1784, while Irving presented the figures given above, the West India merchants claimed that the British islands exported to the continent produce almost equal in value to the provisions and lumber received. But the committee decided that British West India produce was accepted in payment for only one-half the articles sent from the southern colonies, one-quarter of those from the middle group, and one-tenth of those from New England. P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, pp. 25, 159, 241. Reports of the governors of Jamaica on the trade of that island in 1765 (P. R. O., C. O. 137: 33) and in 1774 (C. O. 137: 69) show the same startling discrepancies. Of contemporary writers Chalmers (*Opinions on Interesting Subjects*, London, 1784) follows Irving; Sheffield (*Observations*, London, 1784) and McPherson (*Annals*, III. 403) seem to accept the Jamaica report of 1765; and Bryan Edwards (*Thoughts on the Late Proceedings of Government*) places the value of British produce exported to the continent at £460,000. Still more futile must be any attempt to state with exactness the quantity in which any one commodity entered into the trade. For rum, *e. g.*, the estimates vary from 2,800,000 to 4,070,000 gallons.

¹¹ Whether or not this estimate of freight charges is accurate the amount must have been relatively small. The freight from Barbados to Philadelphia on a hogshead of rum, worth approximately £20 (currency), was only 5 per cent. of that sum. Hist. Soc. of Pa., Wharton Papers, Journal of Charles Wharton, p. 534.

¹² Taking the insurance placed upon eleven cargoes we reach an average of £788 sterling. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 120, 148, 149, 185, 239, 249, 474.

of these men were as easy and unconventional as their epistolary style. Not that they lacked keenness of business sense. Rather was it the case that their very alertness, their intentness upon gain, led them to seek profit whenever, wherever, and however it was to be found. Their ships, like the tramp steamers of to-day, frequently wandered, without prearranged plans, from port to port, the ship-captains buying, selling, bartering, or carrying freights as occasion offered.¹³ Hence it resulted that the West Indian trade, instead of being a mere exchange of commodities between two groups of colonies, stood as part of a greater system: stood in intimate connection alike with the coasting traffic and with lines of commerce extending to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland,¹⁴ Great Britain, southern Europe, and Africa. Some analysis is required for making this clear. The connection of the West Indian with the coasting trade was twofold. Southbound cargoes of the former were often assembled by the use of coasters at the larger American ports;¹⁵ northbound cargoes were distributed in like manner.¹⁶ But, in what probably constituted a majority of the voyages, the connection was closer still. The assembling and distribution were operated by the same vessels which plied to and from the islands, and operated moreover in conjunction with coastwise traffic of the ordinary sort. On the way south to the Caribbees goods laden in New England might be partially or wholly exchanged for those of the middle and southern colonies; on the way north rum and sugar might gradually be displaced by rice or flour, bread or iron.¹⁷ Again West Indian and coasting trades alike were closely related to the New England fisheries and to the commerce carried on by the "continental" colonies with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.¹⁸ In this last-men-

¹³ See note 21.

¹⁴ Sir Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland 1764-1769, reported that the trade of New England with that island occupied 104 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 6048. The amount realized from the sale of the northbound cargoes and of the vessels sometimes sold with them averaged more than £100,000 sterling per year. *B. T.* 5: 1, p. 147.

¹⁵ Coates Papers, William Redwood to Samuel Coates, Newport, July 6, 1773.

¹⁶ *Com. of R. I.*, I, 134.

¹⁷ As the colonies of the southern group had little shipping of their own New England vessels sometimes left West Indian produce at southern ports even while sailing southwards on fresh visits to the islands. The same vessels sometimes plied between the islands and the southern colonies without returning north. *B. T.* 5: 1, pp. 103, 104, 125; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 132, 133, 179.

¹⁸ Evidence of Irving and Sir Hugh Palliser before the Committee of Trade, *B. T.* 5: 1, pp. 93, 94, 146-148; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 406, 417, 460. In 1771 the New Englanders purchased 67,000 quintals of dried fish (principally cod and mackerel) at Newfoundland. The rum used was distilled in New England.

tioned commerce, rum, molasses, and sugar on the one hand, and, on the other, fish of the inferior grade consumed by West Indian slaves, seem to have been the articles most frequently exchanged. Vessels which engaged in the fisheries during the summer months turned south on the approach of winter, bartered their wares along the Atlantic coast as far down as Georgia, and at times concluded their voyages in the Caribbean Sea. Less significant, although perhaps more interesting, is the connection of the West Indian trade with American commerce farther afield. Vessels of the larger sort, having discharged their lumber and provisions in the islands, frequently received there cargoes for the British islands or southern Europe.¹⁹ Indeed the master of such a ship reaching Bridgetown or Kingston might not be sure whether London or Philadelphia would be his next port of call.²⁰ The return voyage might reverse the process. A North American vessel returning home from Great Britain might be ordered to proceed first to the West Indies either directly or via Madeira or Portugal. At the last-named places wine or salt would be added to the British manufactures and Irish provisions of which her original lading was composed.²¹ Last of all there is to be noted the connection of the West Indian commerce with the American slave-trade. Slave vessels, loaded and despatched in North American ports, carried slaves from Africa to the West Indies for sale there.²² From the West Indies they returned home

¹⁹ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 362, 390, 392, 396, 403, 442, 443. The produce taken down would not purchase a cargo for Europe, but additions were bought with bills of exchange. *B. T.* 5: 1, p. 54.

²⁰ Clifford Papers, V. 178. Whether the vessel went to Europe probably depended upon the freight rates, *i. e.*, the possible profits involved. Coates Papers, Edward Dawers to Israel Pemberton, jr. and Company, Antigua, August 27, 1746. On the other hand some American vessels were regularly assigned to such trade. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 433.

²¹ The shipment of Irish produce directly to the colonies was not legal until 1778, 18 Geo. III., c. 55; 20 Geo. III., c. 10. It appears however to have taken place. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 299, 304, 306, 307. An interesting voyage was that of the brig *Charlotte* belonging to Aaron Lopez in 1769-1770. She arrived October 29, 1769, at Bristol with pig-iron, mahogany, and logwood. Finding no freight for the West Indies and being herself unsalable, she carried sugar, rice, iron, and tin plates as freight to Dublin. There she took on 300 barrels of beef for Jamaica and received also the order to pick up 30 pipes of wine at Madeira. She was insured to Jamaica, the Bay of Honduras, and Rhode Island. After having been driven into Whitehaven by bad weather, she arrived at Jamaica in June and at Honduras before September. She reached Charleston with mahogany before December 7, 1770. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 295, 298-301, 304, 307, 308, 309, 316, 335, 336, 354.

²² Just before the Revolution good adult slaves sold in the West Indies for about £35 sterling per head. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 425, 428, 457.

before commencing a fresh voyage,²³ and there is every reason to suppose that they obtained some share of the carrying trade from the islands to the continent.²⁴

As to the shipping employed, the greatest variety is again to be observed. Brigs were in the majority but sloops, schooners, and snows²⁵ were to be found in great numbers. Vessels which engaged from time to time in transatlantic trade were naturally of different type from those which kept to the western hemisphere. The latter were small, averaging at about forty tons²⁶ and provided only with single decks, on which much of the cargo was placed. The former were double-decked craft²⁷ of 100 to 300 tons, the majority falling between 100 and 150.²⁸ As the "out" cargoes south and east bound were much more bulky than the return ladings either from the West Indies or from Europe, and as shipbuilding was in general cheaper in North America than in Europe,²⁹ these vessels were often sold in British and West Indian ports.³⁰ In the matter of owner-

²³ *E. g.*, the *Adventure*. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 397, 428, 473; II. 8.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 456, 461, 462, 467, 468.

²⁵ A snow was a vessel which carried, besides two principal masts, a small third mast placed behind the main mast and equipped with a trysail.

²⁶ As to the number and tonnage of the American vessels trading in the British islands the evidence is very conflicting. From the testimony offered by the London committee of West India merchants, by Irving, by William Knox, and others before the Committee of Trade, B. T. 5: 1, pp. 12, 13, 38, 158; from the report in 1774 of the governor of Jamaica, C. O. 137: 69; and from Naval Office Lists, C. O. 142: 16, it has been calculated that some 400 vessels of 40 to 50 tons and something less than half that number with tonnage averaging about three times as much were engaged in the traffic. These vessels, and particularly the smaller ones, made two or three round trips per year. Long points out that the smaller craft enjoyed great advantages in being able to sail over bars and into small streams and ports. Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404. Many of them were probably built and operated as co-operative enterprises by groups of persons who were not primarily merchants or shipowners. Letter in the *Morning Chronicle* and *London Advertiser* for January 23, 1784.

²⁷ Vessels of 100 tons or upwards were nearly always double-decked. Smaller vessels could cross the ocean but could not be insured. B. T. 5: 1, p. 14.

²⁸ The dimensions of two of these vessels are given as follows. A brigantine of 125 tons burthen—length by the keel 52 ft., beam 20 ft., hold 9½ ft. and between decks 4 ft. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 219. For a larger vessel, length by keel 74 ft., beam 25 ft., hold 12 ft., between decks 4 ft. 8 in. Coates Papers, Elias Bland to John Reynell, London, May 31, 1746. The more perishable part of the cargo was apparently placed between decks. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 441.

²⁹ James Anderson, who before the American Revolution had been employed by a Glasgow firm as agent for the building of ships at Boston, testified before the Committee of Trade that the best American-built vessels were as costly as British-built craft of the same tonnage but that an inferior type could be constructed more cheaply in America. B. T. 5: 3, p. 486.

³⁰ B. T. 5: 1, pp. 13, 54; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 6, 104, 118, 144, 147, 151, 152, 160, 191, 219, 357, 401. The prices realized ranged from £250 sterling to £900 sterling. Vessels in good condition brought £500 sterling or more.

ship, fixed rules were again wanting. While in numerous cases merchants or captains appeared as sole owners, joint proprietorship seems to have been the rule.³¹ In the smaller vessels North American merchants and captains frequently held joint "risks", and West Indian merchants sometimes acquired interests of one-quarter or one-half. In similar fashion European traders stood as co-owners of ships going to their ports. The system was probably useful, not only in decreasing the risks of the individual owner but in producing among captains and oversea merchants more personal and vital interest in the success of the voyages undertaken. A similar pooling of interests is observable in the manner of placing insurance. Groups of merchants in the larger British or American ports³² underwrote the insurance demanded on vessels and cargoes, taking individual risks to an amount in most cases of £50 to £100.³³ Insurance was made for each voyage or section of a voyage and rates varied according to the distance covered, the dangers likely to be encountered, and the season of the year.³⁴ For voyages between any two of the three groups of ports represented by Great Britain, North America, and the West Indies two per cent. to three per cent. was usually paid.³⁵ Thus a vessel going from Rhode Island to Bristol via Jamaica was insured for the whole trip at four per cent. to six per cent.³⁶ A word may be added concerning the captains and crews. Of the skippers some were men of education and social

³¹ Pemberton Papers, XXI. 79; XXV. 110; Coates Papers, Elias Bland to John Reynell, London, May 31, 1746; Stevens, Porter, and Company to John Reynell, Madeira, April 10, 1748. William Redwood to Samuel Coates, Newport, July 6, 1773, *Com. of R. I.*, I. 233, 235, 511.

³² Of the merchants whose papers have been examined those of Philadelphia found underwriters in America while those of Rhode Island placed their insurance in England. New England merchants however sometimes turned to colonial underwriters. Coates Papers, Samuel Briard to John Reynell, Antigua, August 22, 1759. Sometimes a vessel was insured in England and in the colonies at the same time. Coates Papers, John Wendell to John Reynell, Portsmouth (N. H.), July 5, 1759.

³³ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 120, 148, 149, 185, *et al.* In England a policy cost 8 shillings and an agent who placed insurance often charged $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission for his trouble.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 166, 221, 253, 254, 296, 397; Clifford Papers, IV. 157; Coates Papers, John Moffat to John Reynell, Portsmouth, August 14, 1758.

³⁵ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 120, 148, 149, 185.

³⁶ In time of war rates were of course much higher when the policies covered seizures by war vessels or privateers. Thus in 1757, 1758, and 1759 rates for voyages between the continent and the West Indies were 11 per cent. to 22 per cent., between the continent and Great Britain 15 per cent. to 40 per cent., and between the West Indies and Great Britain 22 per cent. to 40 per cent. Coates Papers, general.

equipment, connected by ties of blood or friendship with the merchants and often entering their ranks after apprenticeship at sea.³⁷ The majority were hardy seamen, more at home with the wheel than with the pen, yet able to manage the business of the owners under conditions which often presented the greatest difficulties. The practice of allowing to them, in addition to wages and commissions,³⁸ the privilege of carrying certain amounts of goods on their own account³⁹ must have quickened their interest. Of their general honesty and ability there seems no question. Of the sailors, whose numbers may be estimated as one for eight tons in the smaller craft and one for twelve in the larger,⁴⁰ one hears less. They too would seem to have been well paid⁴¹ and well behaved. About one-third of their number were colored.⁴²

So far we have dealt with shipping operated from North America and from the West Indies⁴³ alone. But it must be remembered that British vessels also were employed in the carrying-trade between the islands and the continent. Of these, two classes are to be distinguished, the "stationed" ships and the "seekers".⁴⁴ The stationed ships were vessels assigned definitely to this branch of commerce. They visited successively American, West Indian, and British ports and had the advantage of securing in the last two

³⁷ A good example of this is found in the Clifford Papers, IV. 144, 145, 149, 157. In one instance we find a former midshipman of the royal navy seeking employment as a merchant captain, *Com. of R. I.*, I. 31. One frequently finds that members of a merchant's family acted as captains of his ships.

³⁸ In spite of the difficulties in dealing with colonial currencies one may gain the impression that the captains were at least fairly well paid. How general was the practice of allowing to them commissions on sales I have not been able to discover. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 61, 441; II. 45.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ This calculation is made in the same manner and on virtually the same evidence as that concerning tonnage, *supra*.

⁴¹ Forty-five shillings per month as compared with 27 shillings paid on British ships. *Parl. Hist.*, XIX. 708; B. T. 5: 1, p. 166. Irving declared that many of them were Britons but this was denied by the West Indian merchants. B. T. 5: 1, pp. 24, 166. At St. Eustatius the rate was \$10 per month. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 354.

⁴² Papers printed by the order of the assembly of Jamaica for submission to Parliament, St. Iago, 1784.

⁴³ In a list of vessels arriving at Jamaica from North America between Christmas, 1766, and Christmas, 1767, only 3 per cent. are listed as West Indian vessels. P. R. O., C. O. 142: 19. Actual examples of the ownership of such vessels by West Indians are found in Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 44; XXV. 110.

⁴⁴ I have adopted the terminology employed by persons testifying before the Committee of Trade in 1784.

stages of their voyages at least freights of tempting bulk.⁴⁵ Yet they were under a serious handicap in competing with American vessels, and particularly with those of the smaller type. Owing to their large size and the inability of their owners to deal at so great a distance with producers, their operations in America were confined to large ports.⁴⁶ The freights which they here took on for the islands had been assembled at some expense and purchased by agents on commission.⁴⁷ By build they were unfitted for the carriage of lumber, yet the expenses of operating them were relatively high.⁴⁸ Most fatal of all was the fact that a full voyage could not regularly be completed within a year.⁴⁹ It is not surprising then to find that few ships were thus stationed for any length of time.⁵⁰ The "seekers" were vessels which ran between the islands and the continent in order to fill up time during which they would otherwise have been lying idle in West Indian harbors. Some had left British goods in southern Europe and crossed in ballast to the islands; others were British slavers. All were waiting to carry West Indian produce home. What profit they picked up in the intercolonial trade was merely added gain, for the three months' trip to the continent involved but little extra expense.⁵¹ It would seem, how-

⁴⁵ Generally speaking, the bulk of freights carried from Great Britain to North America or the West Indies was small as compared with that of the return loadings. According to Irving the proportion was as 1 to 10. Again the bulk of the southbound greatly exceeded the bulk of the northbound cargoes passing between North America and the West Indies. B. T. 5: 1, pp. 120-122, 132; Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755.

⁴⁶ They apparently averaged about 200 tons in burthen, B. T. 5: 1, pp. 14, 64; return of vessels entering Jamaica from North America between Christmas, 1766, and Christmas, 1767, P. R. O., C. O. 142: 19; Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404.

⁴⁷ The rate for purchasing in North America was 5 per cent. to 6 per cent. in 1755, Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, B. T. 5: 1, pp. 53, 54.

⁴⁹ The crop of sugar and rum came on the West India market from January to June. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 20, 225, 443, *et al.* But a vessel would not in many cases receive a full lading before the late spring and for the trip to England anywhere from 6 to 11 weeks were necessary. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 390, 392, 396, 403, 499. If she arrived in England in July she would not be ready to sail again before late August or September. *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 413; Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755. Yet it was necessary that she should reach North America, discharge her cargo, reload, and arrive at the islands by Christmas time or the beginning of January. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 433; B. T. 5: 1, pp. 13, 14; Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755. That she should succeed in doing this year after year was practically impossible. Atkins to Reynell, *supra*; B. T. 5: 1, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Irving's statement to this effect, B. T. 5: 1, p. 121, is borne out by a letter of Elias Bland to John Reynell, August 17, 1756, in the Coates Papers.

⁵¹ Some in fact went merely in return for the promise of a lading for England, others in order to escape hurricanes. B. T. 5: 1, pp. 39, 40, 64.

ever, that their share of the carrying trade, like that of the stationed ships, was comparatively small.⁵²

So much for the general outlines of the trade. For the study of details it will be convenient to confine our attention to the simple and typical case of a small ship, owned and despatched by a North American merchant, carrying no supercargo, and engaging for the time in no other branch of commerce. The cargo of such a vessel, taken on at one or at several ports,⁵³ was usually the property of a number of persons. Besides the large share of the merchant principally concerned, various small lots of goods, representing the remittances and "ventures"⁵⁴ of North Americans or goods purchased on the orders of West Indians,⁵⁵ were taken as freight. On the deck were placed piles of lumber,⁵⁶ live stock,⁵⁷ and casks of salt provisions;⁵⁸ below were stored more perishable goods. But deck and hold were both well filled, for lumber, which on an average voyage filled two-thirds of all the space,⁵⁹ was used to fill all gaps.⁶⁰ The cargo safely stowed and bonds given for its delivery at destinations legally permissible,⁶¹ the sailing orders⁶² were opened. In the framing of these orders careful consideration had probably been given to the nature and amounts of shipments which had recently left

⁵² B. T. 5: 1, pp. 48, 53, 54. According to the report of the governor of Jamaica in 1774 very few British ships carried American produce to that island. C. O. 137: 69. The return of vessels arriving at Jamaica from North America between Christmas, 1766, and Christmas, 1767, shows that the tonnage of the British vessels amounted to only 17 per cent. of the whole. C. O. 142: 19. It will be remembered that the trade of Jamaica amounted to nearly half that of all the British islands combined.

⁵³ Excellent specimens of the old warehouses occupied by the West Indian merchants are still to be found on the Delaware waterfront at Philadelphia.

⁵⁴ A "venture" consisted of any consignment of goods sent as a matter of speculation to be sold for whatever they would bring. It might comprise no more than a single barrel of hams despatched by some thrifty housewife. Pemberton Papers, XXI. 79; Clifford Papers, IV. 114; Coates Papers, Joshua Howell to John Reynell, Barbados, August 3, 1748.

⁵⁵ Some West Indian merchants probably contracted for fixed annual supplies of North American goods. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 176.

⁵⁶ Evidence of Brook Watson before the Committee of Trade, March 20, 1784. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 257, 490. The practice was not however without its disadvantages. B. T. 5: 1, p. 54; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 450, 451.

⁵⁷ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 261.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁵⁹ According at least to Irving's estimate, B. T. 5: 1, p. 158.

⁶⁰ Clifford Papers, V. 121; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 257.

⁶¹ Specimens of the various kinds of bonds and certificates then in use are preserved in the collection of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Custom House Papers, Philadelphia, I.

⁶² E. g., *Com. of R. I.*, I. 60, 64, 96, 162.

North America for particular West India islands and to the direction of the prevailing winds.⁶³ On conclusions arrived at from these facts, and because agreements had been made for the delivery of goods at certain ports, the routes to be followed on both the outward and the home voyages were perhaps laid down. But more likely was the captain to discover that the owners expected him to search out the places where the highest prices were to be obtained in the disposal of his out-cargo and the lowest in the purchase of the return lading.⁶⁴ Supposing that he received orders so loosely framed, his route was largely predetermined by the direction of the winds. By searching first the Windward Islands, then the Leeward, and finally Jamaica he found through most of the year winds which favored him at every stage.⁶⁵ The voyage from the last continental to the first island port occupied, in ordinary weather, from three to four weeks.⁶⁶

Having arrived in the islands the captain had at once to set about disposing of his goods. Disposal of at least a part had probably been prearranged. Some parcels had been sent as remittances to creditors, others consigned to commission agents who undertook sale and collection at a rate of ten or twelve per cent.⁶⁷ Regarding the disposition of the remainder a choice of methods offered. The captain delivered them to commission agents,⁶⁸ personally sold them to merchants and planters in considerable lots,⁶⁹ or, as a last resort, retailed them from a shop rented for the purpose.⁷⁰ In any case his difficulties were great. West Indian merchants and planters alike enjoyed but small repute in business affairs,⁷¹ and, irrespective of

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258.

⁶⁴ It is possible that the merchants of Philadelphia issued orders of this sort more frequently than those of Rhode Island. Such a conclusion might be drawn from such papers as have been examined. But in Rhode Island the practice was not unknown. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 15.

⁶⁵ The reason for this becomes apparent on the examination of any chart showing the direction of the prevailing winds. Particularly good instances of such voyages are found in the Clifford Papers, IV. 96, 114.

⁶⁶ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 35, 41, 82, 133, 134, 167, 192, 216, 255, 263, *et al.*

⁶⁷ Clifford Papers, V. 175, 178; Coates Papers, David Togo to John Reynell, Antigua, May 31, 1756. This was the rate in 1770. It appears to have been 15 per cent. some years earlier.

⁶⁸ This was the method followed in what probably constituted a great majority of cases.

⁶⁹ Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 21; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 255. In some cases at least the captain in making such sales was paid at about the usual commission rate. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁷⁰ This method was probably adopted only in rare cases after the middle of the century and then with little success. Clifford Papers, IV. 144, 145.

⁷¹ The North Americans constantly accused them of being generally negligent, reckless in contracting debts and slow in offering payment. Sometimes we

the characters of the persons engaged, the keenest bargaining was required in every deal. Thanks to the smallness of the islands and their extreme dependence on outside supplies, any kind of American produce was apt to command very different prices in any two of them at the same time. For the same reasons prices fell and rose sharply with the arrival of fresh consignments or the non-appearance of those expected.⁷² Again, the price agreed upon in any particular bargain was arrived at with reference to the method of payment. On account of the scarcity of currency,⁷³ the difficulty in the collection of debts,⁷⁴ and the superior opportunities for purchase of West Indian produce offered by the foreign islands,⁷⁵ cash and bills of exchange⁷⁶ were in great demand. Hence North American goods were disposed of at a much lower rate where money was offered than where credit had to be given⁷⁷ or local produce accepted in ex-

find charges of deliberate dishonesty. Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 21, 44; XXVI. 147; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 174, 175, 269, 297, 373. A young merchant of Philadelphia, Ezekiel Edwards, thus describes them: "A person cannot be too cautious how he connects himself with a Barbados merchant, for many of them keep no books and if they can procure money enough to furnish their tables every day with barbacue, fish and sangree [*sic*] they are entirely regardless how their accounts run on . . . and most of them will bear running for years together without any marks of shame and perhaps promise ten times a day, if you can meet them so often, that they will pay in an hour." Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 44.

⁷² *E. g.*, *Com. of R. I.*, I. 211.

⁷³ The British West Indies had no currency of their own and received very little from the mother-country. They were forced to depend mainly upon the small amounts obtained through commerce with the foreign islands, and much of this foreign currency was drained off by the North American trade. Constant but ineffectual appeals were made to the home government. See, *e. g.*, the address of the assembly of Jamaica, December 18, 1778, C. O. 137: 73, and *An Inquiry concerning the Trade Commerce and Policy of the Island of Jamaica* (St. Iago, 1757). For denominations and values of the Spanish coins in use, see Clifford Papers, IV. 119; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 467.

⁷⁴ See note 71.

⁷⁵ Sugar and indigo as well as molasses and taffia could be obtained at a considerably lower rate. This was especially true of the French islands. Thus we find that one American captain was ordered to sell for cash at St. Eustatius the British West India produce received in exchange for his lumber and provisions, and to use the cash so obtained in the purchase of molasses, sugar, and indigo at Hispaniola. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 61. Sometimes remittance was made by West India merchants in the form of produce shipped on order of the latter from a foreign island. Pemberton Papers, XX. 128.

⁷⁶ Bills of exchange, which were usually drawn on British merchants, were as acceptable as cash but could seldom be obtained except for cash. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 262; Coates Papers, David Togo to John Reynell, Antigua, July 5, 1756. Numerous examples in the Coates Papers show that exchange on London was usually at 55 per cent. to 67½ per cent. This rate is in part accounted for by the fact that the pound sterling was worth 28 shillings in Jamaica currency.

⁷⁷ Clifford Papers, V. 175.

change.⁷⁸ In the last-mentioned case, *i. e.*, where barter took place,⁷⁹ the matter was still further complicated by the fact that the prices of the articles received in payment were scarcely less variable than those of the commodities offered for sale.⁸⁰ In any case the captain was confronted with innumerable difficulties and delays. Weeks or even months probably elapsed before the whole of the cargo was sold and terms of payment arranged.⁸¹ In the meantime something had probably been accomplished in the matter of securing the home freight.

In preparing for the return trip the captain probably received the assistance of local agents.⁸² Of assistance he could make good use, for now he met the difficulties of lading which he experienced on the continent combined with the difficulties of bargaining which he had just encountered in the islands. Some parcels of goods came as remittance to his owner on earlier debts,⁸³ some as payment for produce just sold,⁸⁴ some for sale by his owner on commission,⁸⁵ and others still (probably in answer to advertisement) as casual freights.⁸⁶ Finally, purchases were to be made with cash which he now had in hand. Such purchases probably necessitated visits to foreign islands,⁸⁷ but, no matter where the bargaining was done, in-

⁷⁸ Report of the Committee of Trade, B. T. 5: 1, p. 215; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 34, 224; Clifford Papers, IV. 33; V. 175.

⁷⁹ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 178, 224, 320.

⁸⁰ Sugar varied in value according to its fineness of grain and its color, rum according to its strength or "proof". A common test was that rum should "sink oil". Variations are to be found even in the case of molasses. Moreover special prices were commanded by the rum and sugar of certain islands, *e. g.*, Jamaica rum and St. Kitts sugar. The price of course also varied according to demand and supply. Thus American captains feared to push their purchases lest by so doing they might advance the prices. In general prices were low in the spring when the new produce came in and high in the autumn. Thus rum sold from January to July at 23 pence to 33 pence per gallon, and from August to December at 23 pence to 48 pence. Clifford Papers, IV. 114, 145, 230, 233; Coates Papers; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 45, 51, 81, 84, 168, 179, 198, 225, 229, 296, 312, 325, 371, 373; Hist. Soc. of Pa., Wharton Papers, Journal of Charles Wharton, pp. 490, 495.

⁸¹ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 36, 360, 366.

⁸² *E. g.*, *ibid.*, pp. 196, 225, 244.

⁸³ Pemberton Papers, XX. 128; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 6.

⁸⁴ Thus a commission agent sometimes undertook to remit by return voyage West Indian goods in part payment for the North American produce sent down. Pemberton Papers, XX. 128.

⁸⁵ The commission rate in Philadelphia was 10 per cent. Clifford Papers, V. 178.

⁸⁶ Pemberton Papers, XIX. 29; XXIV. 21. Some of these casual freights were also for sale on commission.

⁸⁷ Of these the French portion of Santo Domingo was the favorite. Here was produced more than one-half of all the molasses and taffia made in the

numerable variations of price, arising again from conditions of supply and demand, from differences in the qualities and values of the goods, and from methods of payment had to be taken into account. Since the first installments of the crops were often sold in advance⁸⁸ he had perhaps to consider himself fortunate that purchases could be made at all. And even when all negotiations were completed, serious difficulties were encountered in the actual assembling of the goods. The produce of the sugar plantations came gradually to market from February to June,⁸⁹ while bad weather sometimes prevented for weeks the operation of the primitive horse-driven mills in which the cane was ground.⁹⁰ So dilatory were the planters in carrying their produce to the shipping ports that purchasers had often to sail around the islands and invade the plantations in order to secure their goods.⁹¹ Thus the captain had again to encounter endless delays before he could announce to an impatient owner that the ship was ready to clear for home.⁹²

Viewed thus in detail, the trade seems almost a trivial thing. In reality it constituted a vital part of the greatest commercial system

French islands. Before 1767 trade with the British North Americans was carried on mainly through the port of Monte Christi, a Spanish boundary port notorious as existing almost solely for this purpose. During the Seven Years' War "flags of truce" were employed and at its close the removal of Acadians to Santo Domingo was used to screen much of this commerce. In 1767 the French government in order to secure to itself the regulation and profits of this trade opened St. Nicholas Mole to foreign vessels of 100 tons or more and allowed the importation there of wood, tar, live stock, and hides. The restriction as to tonnage was seemingly not enforced and the importation of fish was permitted shortly afterwards. According to an official report 465,000 gallons of molasses were sold at St. Nicholas for 23 sous (currency) per gal. from July to September, 1774. Archives du Ministère des Colonies, St. Domingue, first ser., nos. 128, 129, 130, 135; second ser., no. 24; C. O. 137: 59; C. O. 5: 38; *Gazette de France* for 1767, p. 611.

⁸⁸ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 231, 243.

⁸⁹ B. T. 5: 1, p. 19; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 20, 225, 265, 433. The harvest on the north side of Jamaica began in March, on the south side in February. In some parts of the island sugar was made throughout most of the year.

⁹⁰ *Com. of R. I.*, I. 36, 432.

⁹¹ Clifford Papers, IV. 157, 159; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 192, 196.

⁹² "Vessels from North America think nothing of lying four, five or six months". Clifford Papers, IV. 159, Harper to Clifford, Grenada, March 10, 1765. Perhaps American captains and merchants did not always find these delays especially onerous. We learn that Captain Zacha. Hutchins of Philadelphia gambled away "several hundred pounds in specie—also his brig valued at £750" at Barbados in 1770. Pemberton Papers, XXI. 79. On the other hand, Benjamin Birkett is able to announce that his friend and travelling companion Ezekiel Edwards is "the same in every instance as when he left Philadelphia, not corrupted by the vices of the island". Coates Papers, Benjamin Birkett to Samuel Coates, Barbados, October 10, 1772.

of the century.⁹³ To the West Indian its continuance was an essential condition of his prosperity, almost of his existence. Lumber and provisions produced in the islands or brought from Europe were high in price and irregular in supply. Reliance upon them must have made serious if not fatal inroads both on the planter's profits and on the productive power of the islands. Nor would the loss consequent on interruption of trade with North America have ended there, for molasses and rum could not even in greatly reduced quantities have maintained their prices if offered in the European market alone. As for the continental colonies, trade as they might with the foreign islands, the severance of relations with the British-owned group would have hindered their development to a marked degree. Farmers, fishermen, and lumbermen, from the Kennebec to the Savannah, would have sought in vain sufficient outlets for their goods. Merchants of New England and the middle colonies would have been hard pressed to find the means of liquidating their debts for British goods and the means of purchasing furs, fish, and slaves. By inference it may be seen how vitally important was the success of this intercolonial commerce for the interests of the mother-country herself. Since the economic decline of either group of colonies must have affected her industry, her commerce, her shipping, and her revenues, hers was a double interest in the trade. It is not fanciful to trace connection between the sawmills of the Kennebec and the sugar refineries of the Thames Valley or to state that the amounts of hardware and textiles which went either to Philadelphia or to Kingston were in no small degree determined by the quantities of flour and rum which passed between those two ports. Nor was it only love of liberty which in 1774 united Whigs of England, of America, and of Jamaica⁹⁴ in opposition to the Intolerable Acts.

HERBERT C. BELL.

⁹³ I have discussed the importance of the trade from the West Indian and from the British points of view in my paper on "British Commercial Policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793", published in the *English Historical Review* for July, 1916. Its importance from the American point of view is so well known that detailed discussion is unnecessary.

⁹⁴ The assembly of Jamaica, December 23, 1774, petitioned the king in behalf of the continental colonies. The petition after expressing alarm at "the approaching horrors of an unnatural contest between Great Britain and her colonies in which the most dreadful calamities to this island and the inevitable destruction of the small sugar colonies are involved", boldly asserts the principle that "no one part of Your Majesty's English subjects ever can or ever could legislate for another part". It protests against "a plan almost carried into execution for enslaving the colonies founded . . . on a claim of Parliament to bind the colonists in all cases whatsoever", against the illegal grant of colonial property to the crown, and against the encouragement of the "murder" of colonists. It implores the king to protect the colonists by mediating between them and his "European subjects". P. R. O., C. O. 137: 69.

CENSORSHIP AND LITERATURE UNDER NAPOLEON I.

THE Napoleonic régime was largely occupied with the elaboration of a system competent to curb the unbridled individualism that the Revolution had evoked, and of which the great Corsican was himself the chief exponent. Such a system could be but slowly elaborated, and it is not strange that it was never fully applied; the parts of it that were concerned with the moral and intellectual conditions of individual life and with the development and expression of public spirit were still largely in a state of experimentation when the Empire passed away. It was only in 1810 that the educational machine was fully set up with the organization of the University, and it was in the same year that the control of publication through a formal censorship was provided for by the establishment, as a bureau of the Ministry of the Interior, of the Direction Générale de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie.

In the following pages I propose to examine closely the principles and practice of this Direction Générale as disclosed in its weekly reports through the period 1810-1814. The bureau however cannot be represented as constituting the complete censorship of the period, even with regard to the press, for the police supervision that up to 1810 had been all-powerful over all agencies of public expression and intercourse, was limited by the establishment of the formal censorship only with respect to non-periodic publications. And even here the censorship frequently found itself impeded by the police; there had been a bitter contest between the Ministries of Police and of the Interior all through the working out of the imperial decree of February 5, 1810, by which the Direction Générale had been established, and both Fouché and Savary continued to resent the curtailing of police jurisdiction that the decree represented. The present article therefore is not a full exposition of censorship under the later Empire, but a study of one branch of it, from the point of view chiefly of the administrative attitude toward literature and *esprit public*.¹ It is based on the authoritative and detailed account of the operations of the censorship that is preserved

¹ The substantial monograph of M. Henri Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire* (Paris, 1887), aims to cover the whole field and does so with considerable success. The author, however, has passed over the bulletins of the Direction Générale somewhat hastily, and has occupied himself rather with the

for us in the weekly bulletins of the Director General to the Minister of the Interior, who was supposed to lay them before the Emperor. These extend with some breaks from April, 1810, to January, 1814. They were prepared by the Director General on the basis of the reports of the censors and inspectors (for the departments, of the préfets also), and no doubt often incorporated the ideas and even the language of the individual readers, though in general the form of statement implies the director's own examination and conviction. At times the director is requested by the minister to undertake a personal reading and report; aggrieved authors had the right of appeal to the minister, but this seems to have been but rarely exercised (I find but one instance of the manuscript being sent to another censor, who reversed the decision of the first). It is clear that the minister gave close attention to the bulletins and we find him not infrequently ordering or suggesting changes. It is impossible to say how far they came under the eye of the Emperor or how far the minister's interventions were thus caused. As in January, 1813, the latter asserted that he had long sought to impose leniency on the bureau, it is fair to assume that his attitude would date back to the strong expressions of dissatisfaction with the censorship used by Napoleon in the Council toward the end of 1811.² But the Emperor's earlier interventions were spasmodic and were probably not followed up. He did not like the censorship, for he was very sensitive as to the suspicion that he was afraid to let people say what they thought; but, as with the police tyranny, he could not dispense with it. It is clear however that he finally interposed decisively in the interests of leniency, the permanent results being evident from the statistics of censorship operation given in the subjoined note.² In 1811 more than thirty per cent. of the manu-

fortunes of the more noted writers than with the general attitude and influence of the bureau. The extracts from the bulletins given here and by M. Welschinger may be usefully supplemented by the citations from those of 1810 published in 1870-1871 by M. Charles Thurot in the *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*. I have used these bulletins in two different manuscripts of the Archives Nationales, indexed as "AF IV. 1049, Rapports du Ministère de l'Intérieur", and "AF IV. 1354, Pièces Ministérielles"; there are 159 in all, blanks existing for June, July, August, and September, of 1810, and for July and August of 1812.

² Bulletin statistics, 1810-1814:

Date.	No. bulletins.	No. MSS.	No. corrections.	No. prohibitions.
1810	15	422	64	3
1811	48	669	163	76
1812	41	571	43	21
1813	51	585	2	14
1814	3	15	0	2
	158	2,262	272	116

scripts examined were corrected or prohibited, but in 1813 only somewhat less than three per cent. We should of course take into

Welschinger it is true asserts that the imperial interventions "ne produisit aucun effet utile et l'arbitraire continua" (p. 46), but it is evident that he had not examined the bulletins closely enough, and was probably basing his statement upon general literary complaints such as that quoted by him from Villemain. I have not found the document from which Welschinger quotes the Instructions issued by M. de Pommereul to the censors, December 22, 1812, in pursuance of the new orders; according to this the following principles were now laid down: "Lorsqu'un ouvrage vous est soumis, qu'il soit bien ou mal écrit, spirituel ou non, contenant des idées sages ou déraisonnables, ce ne sont point là des motifs pour proposer d'en suspendre ou arrêter la publication. L'ouvrage est-il obscène? Sa publicité serait-elle contraire aux règlements de police municipale? Alors a-t-il pour but de réveiller des passions, de former des factions, de semer du trouble dans l'intérieur? Le danger qu'il présente avertit assez de réclamer la défense de sa publication. L'intention libérale de Sa Majesté est que, à ces exceptions près, la presse jouisse d'une entière liberté." Welschinger admits that these new directions were followed by "une certaine détente dans la répression", but declares that it did not last. So far as the records show it lasted through the rest of the period. The cases of the two manuscripts set down as prohibited in January, 1814 (though only 15 had been submitted to the censors), will be found on examination to bear out this conclusion; both were reported by the director as being markedly of an objectionable political tendency, and yet in both instances the minister disapproved the action and ordered reconsideration (of the final outcome we have no information). As a matter of fact the milder régime had set in earlier than is indicated above, and quite suddenly, showing that some external pressure had been applied; for the months of January, February, and March, 1812, with 185 manuscripts examined, there were 10 prohibitions and 39 corrections, while for the months of April, May, June, September, October, November, and December (there were no bulletins for July and August), with 386 manuscripts there were only 4 corrections and 11 prohibitions. The activity in correction of the year 1811 and of the first three months of 1812 is even more striking than the prohibitions; it was in January, 1811, that Portalis was replaced by de Pommereul, and but for the proverbial activity of the "new broom" we should not have expected this result. Portalis had been very vigorous in his plans for corrections, and it may be that these plans came to the stage of application only after his removal. The manuscripts "corrigés" were for the most part simply mutilated. This activity naturally aroused much complaint, and to this doubtless were due the strong expressions employed by the Emperor in the Council of State, December 13, 1811 (Locré, *Discussion sur la Liberté de la Presse*, etc., Paris, 1819, p. 296 ff.), though they seem also to have been caused in part by his irritation at the demand of the bureau for larger appropriations. He intimated that it might be necessary to abolish the Direction Générale, and declared that "Il est nécessaire que la direction de l'imprimerie prenne des idées plus libérales. On sent maintenant tous les abus de cette institution. . . . Elle devrait savoir que la censure n'est établie que contre les libelles qui provoquent à la révolte; qu'elle laisse parler librement sur le reste; qu'elle souffre les caprices de la presse. Il est fort égal à l'état qu'un extravagant vienne dire par exemple: que c'est Louis XI qui a fait la révolution. . . . On réglemente beaucoup trop. Il est beaucoup de choses qu'un gouvernement sage abandonne à leur cours naturel. L'amour du mieux n'enfante pas tou-

account the presumed efficacy of the censorship, the effects of the making known of its principles and prejudices to authors and publishers; but the examination of the bulletins of the director shows that there was a real and forced relaxing of the earlier activity, and that this leniency was distasteful both to the individual censors and to M. de Pommereul. After the inauguration of the milder régime the bulletins of the Director General change in tone, and are devoted mainly to descriptive statements and to more or less jocular and trivial criticism. It is clear that the bureau was no longer taking itself very seriously; there is no further reference to the early educational campaign, and we get on the whole the impression that the worthy M. de Pommereul and his censors are more or less marking time.

The direct activity of the censorship proper seems to have been confined almost entirely to Paris and its vicinity, for in the provinces it is probable that the change brought about by the establishment of the new bureau amounted to but little more than a change of address of the prefectoral reports from the Ministry of the Police to the Ministry of the Interior. No doubt throughout the Empire as in Paris the surveillance of the police continued as before, but their activity was now detached from that of the préfets acting as agents of the formal censorship which existed as a bureau of the Ministry of the Interior.³ I shall not delay on this provincial censorial activity, for it is of minor importance, and is represented but slightly in the bulletins of the Director General; the provincial press had virtually ceased to exist as a medium or factor in public opinion, and the publication provincially of a new book had become a rare event. The activity of the censorship in Paris had of course reference very largely to the reading public of the provinces, though from

jours le bien; et les innovations sont rarement heureuses". It will be remembered that Napoleon's interventions in administration were frequently not followed up, and that they often occurred under such circumstances as justified the impression that they did not proceed from clear conviction and settled policy and consequently could not be safely regarded as laying down rules of action. But in this case there is no reason to doubt that his attitude continued consistent and that the censorship began to respond to it by the spring of 1812.

³ Reference is frequently made in the bulletins to information furnished by the préfets in pursuance of the instructions "données à MM. les Préfets par le Directeur Général de la Librairie". Inspectors of the censorship were employed in the surveillance of distribution through local booksellers and through colporteurs throughout France, but it is not clear whether they reported directly or through the préfets, or what their relations were to the similar agents of the police. The large range of this surveillance as compared with that of the police is probably indicated in the reference of the bulletins to efforts of its agents to furnish extended information as a basis for a policy of improving popular reading.

points of view which seem to become less prominent as time passed. It is the provinces mainly that are in view when the censorship planned most aggressively, took itself most seriously; the first director, Count Joseph Portalis, a strenuous and pedagogic bureaucrat, entered upon his work with much enthusiasm as to the opportunity offered to direct popular reading and thus mould public opinion. His second report as Director General, dated May 31, 1810, addressed to the Emperor direct, was prefaced by some general considerations.

J'ai recueilli [he says] des renseignements sur l'état de l'imprimerie et de la librairie dans toutes les Parties de l'Empire, sur le nombre et l'espèce des livres qui s'impriment et qui se vendent, sur le nombre et l'espèce de ceux qui s'importent, sur l'esprit des journaux étrangers et leur Tendance générale. En France dans les Départements on n'imprime que des livres de Piété, des livres élémentaires ou classiques. La Publication d'un nouvel Ouvrage y est un Phénomène, et la Réimpression de quelques anciens livres importants n'y est pas moins rare. Néanmoins ça et là on remarque quelques compilations de jurisprudence et quelques nouvelles éditions des écrivains du siècle de Louis XIV. C'est la Librairie qui doit fixer là toute mon attention. Les Libraires vendent peu et louent beaucoup leurs livres. Cet Usage est peu favorable au Progrès des Connoissances utiles. Il popularise les livres frivoles et favorise l'oisiveté. Plusieurs Préfets, beaucoup d'Évêques, quelques Libraires même se plaignent de la Circulation presque ouverte dans leurs Départements d'un grand nombre d'Ouvrages qui à force d'outrager les Mœurs, les Lois et les Bienséances sociales, outragent la Nature même. . . . J'ai recueilli les titres de trente-cinq ouvrages contre les Mœurs qui circulent, malgré les efforts de la Police.

After pointing out the insufficiency of the means at the disposal of the censorship he concluded:

Sire, la Direction Générale de l'Imprimerie ne doit pas se borner à réprimer seulement, son plus beau Ministère sera d'inspirer. Si Votre Majesté daigne agréer mes vues en recueillant par Degrés la Statistique personnelle de la France savante et littéraire, je parviendrai à connaître nos ressources et à les rendre disponibles.

It is no doubt the views and probably the language of Portalis that we find in a circular issued from the Ministry of the Interior to the préfets October 9, 1810,⁴ and apparently referred to in

⁴ The policy here expounded by Portalis can be traced back in considerable degree to Bonaparte's earlier counsellors in the Consulate. The state papers of Étienne Portalis, father of Joseph, one of the leading administrative spirits of the Consulate, will be found to outline it to some extent; in 1802 we find Roederer, conseiller d'état, charged provisionally with the conduct of public instruction, reporting to the Minister of the Interior how he had judged it "très utile de faire faire pour l'an XI un Almanach populaire qui fasse connaître à Deux Cents mille Paysans leur premier Magistrat et beaucoup de choses utiles", and how only the

later reports of the préfets as Instructions of the Director General. This document is of much interest with respect both to the censorship and to the literary and intellectual conditions of the time.

Il est [it asserts] une multitude de petits écrits que nos presses reproduisent chaque année en grand nombre, et qui sont la bibliothèque des pauvres et les premiers livres de l'enfance; il est impossible qu'il ne fixe pas l'attention d'une sage administration: ils ont une influence directe sur l'esprit du peuple des villes et des campagnes; il leur doit toutes ses connaissances acquises. Ses opinions, ses préjugés, ses affections en dépendent plus ou moins. Il croit y reconnaître les conseils de la philosophie du siècle, les vérités démontrées par une expérience universelle, l'opinion des hommes éclairés, le ton et les usages des hommes polis, le langage du jour, et la peinture des moeurs du temps. On s'étonne quelquefois du progrès universel de certaines opinions nuisibles, qui frappe trop tard les regards de l'autorité; mais on en aurait prévenu les effets, si l'on avait, dès l'origine, empêché la circulation de quelques écrits obscurs qu'on a méprisés autant qu'ils paraissaient méprisables. De ce nombre sont les almanachs, les calendriers, les annuaires, les recueils de contes, d'anecdotes, de chansons, de pronostics, de cantiques, de complaintes, les relations des événements récents, les jugemens des cours criminelles, les abécédaires, croix de par Dieu, et autres menus ouvrages. Leur nombre, cependant, est tellement multiplié, et leur apparition si journalière, qu'il est impossible de les soumettre à l'examen de MM. les Censeurs Impériaux; dès-lors, j'ai cru devoir éveiller sur ce point votre sollicitude, et vous inviter à les faire examiner avec soin.

Directions follow as to this surveillance, especially with regard to the necessity of removing

tout ce qui peut inquiéter les esprits faibles et crédules, tout ce qui tend à fortifier des préjugés superstitieux ou à les faire naître, enfin toutes limited means at his disposal prevented him from doing "cent choses semblables" (AF IV. 1050). The circular of 1810 was responded to very promptly by some of the préfets; the préfet of the Bas-Rhin writes in the same month that he "a fait disparaître de plusieurs almanachs soumis à son examen par ordre du Directeur de la Librairie, des chansons" and other material, while from the Department of the Po it is soon announced that good results are already following from these steps. A bulletin of this period refers to these popular publications as appearing in "des millions d'exemplaires". They were spread abroad mainly by colporteurs; the director's bulletin of December 29, 1810, describes one of the manuscripts listed as passed without change as "un de ces opuscules qui composent la Bibliothèque du Peuple et la Pacotille des Colporteurs. On travaille à les épurer et le Directeur Général de la Librairie se propose de les remplacer peu à peu avec l'aide et le concours de MM. les Préfets par des écrits dignes des Lumières du Siècle et propres à entretenir dans les Ames ou à y allumer des Sentimens d'Amour et de fidélité pour les Souverains, l'esprit d'Honneur, de Bravoure, et de Générosité qui doivent former parmi nous le véritable esprit national". A bulletin of the previous month had expressed the intention of undertaking a similar supervision of text-books: "Ce serait le seul moyen de rendre leur travail non seulement sans danger, mais d'une utilité incontestable, et cette méthode aurait encore l'avantage de doubler leur mérite comme auteurs en leur imprimant ce caractère d'originalité qui leur manque".

les prédictions politiques qui intéresseraient la tranquillité de l'État, inspireraient des craintes sur la stabilité de nos institutions, ou exciteraient des inquiétudes pour l'avenir.

The *chansons et contes* are to be revised in the interests of decency and morality, though "il faut se souvenir dans quel pays et dans quel siècle nous vivons, et se garder de confondre l'enjouement et la gaieté avec la licence et le vice". Better things were to be inculcated by substituting

des faits glorieux tirés de l'histoire de l'Empire et de nos armées, des maximes de morale, des actes de courage, des exemples d'humanité. On propagerait ainsi ces sentiments d'honneur, de franchise, de loyauté, d'amour pour le souverain, qui doivent caractériser la nation française; on nourrirait son enthousiasme pour le Fondateur de l'Empire; on la familiariserait avec nos institutions nationales et la pratique de tous les devoirs.

It is evident that a policy of this sort would be subject to fluctuations dependent largely on personal and other fleeting elements. It may be conjectured that no field of administration could be more in need of elucidation from the personal side than that of censorship; in most cases however the necessary information is almost unattainable. The two quite commonplace officials who were at the head of the bureau during the period were of very different origins and characteristics. The general outlines of those of the first occupant of the post, Count Joseph Portalis, will perhaps have been already indicated; the son of one of the most remarkable of the early Napoleonic statesmen, he had been caught early by the great machine, was laborious and pedantic, a born bureaucrat, with little of the father's great talent and personality. His career was short, for early in 1811 he came under suspicion of lukewarmness in the crusade against papal emissaries. His successor, the Baron de Pommereul, who had been one of the young Bonaparte's examiners on his passage from military school to active service, was older and more pliable, and kept the place to the end. As it was his business to make enemies and as the enemies he made were more or less addicted to personalities through practice in the profession of letters, we perhaps may discount the statements that come down to us about him from aggrieved authors; it is clear however that he was not misled by the enthusiasms that had fired his predecessor, that he sailed close to the wind, that the desires of the man higher up found in him no damaging resistance. As to the ten or twelve obscure readers whose work lies behind the bulletins we know little more than the names; they were styled imperial censors to distinguish

them from those attached to the Ministry of Police, and had retaining fees of one thousand two hundred francs yearly with additional pay for work done. In addition to the general utility men the list included a learned antiquary, whose function it was to nose out plagiarists in the interest of the revenue (a tax being imposed on all reproductions), a sound Gallican theologian, and a couple of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

My illustrations of the spirit and operation of the censorship by extracts from the director's weekly bulletins will necessarily be too limited to show its scope fully. It will be convenient to group the material under three main heads, political, educational, literary.

Works in the field of politics or government were of course abandoned without defense to the vigilance of the censor, sure to greet them with suspicion. General attacks on the existing order were naturally prohibited, and there was also a steady endeavor to prevent criticism or even discussion of any of the new institutions. This is easily explainable and not unreasonable; it is for the most part in line with one of the most steadily applied principles of the Napoleonic administration (a principle, by the way, not steadily applied by the older absolutism), *viz.*, that of preventing any expressions of public opinion with regard to the principles or acts of established authorities. No official act more surely evoked the imperial displeasure than a resort to the public press in the case of collision between authorities or between authorities and the public. Public opinion was not openly recognized; that an official should publicly assume that there was a public opinion or that it could express itself on current public questions, was to show himself as harking back to the evil revolutionary days and thoroughly unfitted for his post. It was again one of the most thoroughly established principles of the censorship that any public recalling of the memory of the revolutionary or Bourbon pre-revolutionary days should be frowned on, should be presumed to indicate questionable motives or incapacity for good citizenship; disparaging comparisons were not to be tolerated and people with inconveniently long memories were sufficiently a nuisance to be classed with criminals.

In applying these general positions the censorship found itself at times more or less embarrassed and not infrequently seems guilty of inconsistency. It was hard to draw the line between preventing unwelcome references and completely ignoring the recent past; history was being made so rapidly that it was difficult to keep up. More than once the censor was obliged to interfere with otherwise

quite harmless geographical books because they referred to states that had but recently passed away and might be supposed to be still regretted; the tabooing of the name of Bourbon presented difficulties in the historical instruction of youth. One enterprising educator found himself deprived at one stroke of two hundred pages of his work, "qui n'étaient pas en harmonie avec les principes de notre gouvernement", while the manuscript of another was entirely suppressed because it did not seem fitting to let him entertain the public with his fancies as to the future relations of France and Austria. The prohibition of M. Debrai's *Essai sur la Force, la Puissance, et la Richesse Nationale* was probably due mainly to the author's unwise praises of the English commercial system in his advocacy of such "pensées triviales" as that governments ought to admit without taxation all raw material not indigenous, and that the foreign policy of a country should be based on its commercial interests.

It was to be expected that the censorship should show a constant zeal in guarding the sacred person of His Majesty, a zeal that was not always appreciated. Napoleon would have homage, but he wanted it to be in good taste and to have at least the appearance of spontaneity; it always irritated him to have this spontaneity too closely associated with official pressure. One of the chief ways in which we find the bureau exhibiting tenderness for the imperial susceptibilities is in its watchfulness over references to individuals who had lost imperial favor; the tactless author who concluded his article on General Kléber in an *Histoire des Généraux Français* with "un éloge démesuré que la malveillance ou la sottise auraient pu faire envisager comme un trait lancé d'une main impuissante contre une gloire et une renommée au dessus de toutes les gloires", found that "cet éloge a disparu". A later appearance of the Egyptian theme seems to have occasioned more embarrassment to M. de Pommereul. In 1812 he prohibited the *Egyptiad*, an heroic poem on the Bonapartist conquest, because the author had not risen to the height of his theme. "Ce n'est point par un ouvrage si inférieur que Sa Majesté doit être louée. Il lui faut un Homère. Alexandre ne voulait être peint que par Apelles." But an additional objection was conveyed in the carefully worded query, "l'Empereur n'ayant pas conservé l'Égypte, conviendrait-il de faire une grande épopée de sa conquête?" The minister to whom the report was made passed over this delicate point, and remarked that, while any unfitting allusions were to be suppressed, he did not think the poem should be prohibited simply because of its mediocrity. The clemency here suggested was extended with evident regret in the case of an *Histoire*

de Bonaparte (a title which, by the way, was ordered changed to that of *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Napoléon le Grand*), where however there were suppressed "quelques détails sur les premières années de la vie du héros et différens discours mis dans sa bouche".

Il est trop difficile [remarks M. Portalis] de traiter un pareil sujet dignement pour qu'on soit étonné de l'imperfection de tant d'ouvrages enterpris sur un thème si beau et si fécond. On souffre de voir travestir, ou rendre en mauvais termes ce qui est grand et beau de sa nature . . . mais il faut compatir à l'empressement du public . . . et à la bonne intention des écrivains.

That, however, there were limits to the censor's receptivity of the Emperor's praises is shown by the suppression in a drama of a eulogy of His Majesty on the ground that it had been put in the mouth of one of the rogues of the piece.

Any presentations of the recent history of France or of Europe would necessarily involve the very delicate matter of the revolutionary origins of the existing régime; it can occasion no surprise to find the censorship very sensitive in regard to such references and on the whole decidedly averse to having the period dealt with at all. This is in line with the whole spirit of the administration, anxious, not necessarily to deny its origin or its earlier principles, but to leave unstirred all dangerous questions and events, and to continue quietly with its task of reconciling all interests and classes to the new institutions and to one another. This is well illustrated by the corrections and remarks concerning a production entitled *Les Tombeaux du Dix-Huitième Siècle*. "L'auteur", we are told, "passe en revue tous les hommes remarquables de cette centurie dont il feint de visiter les tombeaux. . . . Le Directeur de la Librairie pense qu'il était au moins inutile d'évoquer de pareilles ombres. Il ordonne la suppression de tous les tombeaux révolutionnaires à commencer par celui de Louis XVI". It was not often indeed that any commendatory references to the men either of the Old Régime or of the Revolution escaped a jealous pruning. An educational treatise on the model of Rousseau's *Émile* was subjected to correction because the central figure was described as a noble of the Old Régime forced by the Revolution to emigrate. "On a fait disparaître cette indication", says the director, "on n'a pas besoin d'avoir émigré pour donner une éducation chrétienne à ses enfans". The recalling of the Bourbon past was perhaps even more frowned upon than references to revolutionary days; and when during the Emperor's absence in Russia the bureau became aware that manu-

scripts in favor of the old dynasty were being passed from hand to hand the nervousness became extreme. A *Vie du Général Monck* was prohibited because of the suspicion that only an adherent of the exiled Bourbons could have any interest in calling attention to the restorer of the House of Stuart; an *Histoire du Bourbonnais*, it is intimated, would have been suppressed if the author had not had the good judgment to stop "au moment où la race des anciens seigneurs de ce nom s'éteint".

This vigilance was no doubt very discouraging to historical research, but though quite a number of brief histories of France appear only to be sadly mutilated, we do not seem on the whole to have lost much that we cannot do without. We should like indeed to have had preserved the work which aimed to present a study of the statements as to local conditions and instructions sent up with the deputies to the États Généraux of 1789; it was rejected because it was constantly harping on the vague idea of popular power and sovereignty, and because it presumed to propose reforms in the Napoleonic laws. No such regret perhaps will be extended to a Dutch publication entitled *Delicia Poetica*, proscribed because "une très grande partie de ce recueil a son origine dans les opinions exaltées de 1792 et 1793". The differences presented by these earlier eras are strongly insisted on in a critical reference to the appearance of a new edition of De Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*; although the work is not proscribed, objection is expressed to the disclosures it makes of the diplomatic secrets of the old French state.

Mais l'ouvrage est déjà publié; l'ancienne diplomatie, même celle du règne de Louis XVI., est aussi vieillie que si elle avait deux mille ans. Tout est changé autour de nous. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une nouvelle dynastie, ce sont les temps qui ne sont plus les mêmes. L'Empereur a commencé une nouvelle ère pour le monde politique, même l'ordre social, même l'art de gouverner comme celle de vaincre et de combattre sont renouvelés en entier.

It is perhaps surprising that the prejudice against publications relating to the French Revolution was not also extended to those that dealt with the preceding American one; on the contrary, in 1813 we find an approving notice of a translation from the Italian of Botta's *Histoire de la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis*. This was probably due to the part taken by France in that struggle, especially since France was again at war with England. It certainly would not seem to be explainable by any tenderness toward the contemporary United States, if we may judge by a reference to a work unfortunately not approved because objected to by the Minister

of Foreign Relations as inopportune. This was entitled *Aperçu des États-Unis au 19 Siècle jusqu'en 1810*, by M. Félix Beaujour; "Les Anglo-Américains", remarks the director, "ne se sont pas encore présentés devant un miroir plus fidèle. Ils seraient bien connus en France si cet ouvrage peu étendu mais plein et substantiel pourrait voir le jour". We may I think assume that the reflection in this mirror was not complimentary. This intervention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recalls an important limitation of the bureau's freedom of action. It was not only constantly interfered with by the police, but it was obliged to refer to various departments of the administration such projected publications as were likely to be of particular interest to them—a reference that was especially important for manuscripts in the province of the Ministre des Cultes. One of the interventions from the diplomatic side is of interest as displaying one of the embarrassing sides of the censorial system; it is with regard to the prohibition of a volume entitled *Versailles, Paris, et Londres*, described by the director as not ill-intentioned but very stupid. "Mais dans un pays", he explains, "où le public croit que les ouvrages politiques sont faites par ordre du Gouvernement ou publiés sous sa censure, il est impossible de laisser paraître de telles rhapsodies". This leads to the reflection that manifestly an active censorship would proceed very easily from corrections to suggestion. There are many instances of such suggestions, as in the case of the text-book on geography to which the Foreign Office insisted on adding some maps, or of the translation of Costigan's *Letters on the Government, Manners and Customs of Portugal*, to which the translator was required to add various remarks on the duplicity of the English conduct in that country, and on the great improvement effected by the short sojourn of the French.

This last instance represents an attitude which we find the censorship frequently exhibiting; for the number of manuscripts on English affairs or containing references to England that were submitted was surprisingly large. In spite of the war and of the Napoleonic commercial policy the intellectual relations between the countries continued to subsist in a large degree, and evidences of the fact have a good deal of interest. The reception of English thought in France was still such as frequently to disturb the censorship, which lost no opportunity of discrediting it. This inhospitality does not it is true often extend to purely literary productions, the frequent translations in this field being seldom interfered with. But in all other ways every opportunity is taken of working against "cette Anglomanie que nos écrivains du siècle dernier nous ont si imprudemment

inoculés et dont ceux du siècle présent auront quelques peines à nous guérir". Every occasion is seized to revile British institutions; even trial by jury (almost the only part of the revolutionary innovations in judicial procedure that Napoleon had let live) was referred to as "n'offrant aucun avantage au degré de civilisation où nous sommes parvenus". Eulogies of the British constitution received short shrift; a book entitled *Anecdotes Anglaises et Américaines* was in 1813 strongly approved of as disclosing the vices of the British system, showing (to use the language of the bulletin) "que la constitution anglaise ne donne au peuple qu'elle régit ni la garantie ni les droits ni les libertés dont on prétend qu'il lui est redevable; que si les Anglais ont une moralité, leur gouvernement dans ses rapports publics n'en reconnait et n'en pratique aucune". One instance of these attacks is of interest in more than one way; it is in connection with the passing of a book concerning Lord Elgin's antiquarian activities in the Levant in 1799.

Les anglais [the bulletin proceeds] qui n'ont pas le sentiment des beaux arts, qui n'ont encore produit aucun grand peintre, aucun grand sculpteur, aucun grand musicien, ont heureusement beaucoup d'or et non moins d'orgueil; ils y joignent une jalousie nationale qui les excite à se montrer toujours nos rivaux. M. de Choiseul-Gouffier a illustré son ambassade par son beau voyage de la Grèce. Le Lord Elgin a voulu l'imiter et faire aussi son voyage pittoresque. . . . Elgin obtint de la Porte la permission de faire des fouilles à Athènes et on sait qu'il en a abusé au dernier point. Les magnifiques bas-reliefs du temple de Thésée ont été brisés et mutilés pour en ravir quelques fragments, et l'insouciance Ottomane a été moins fatale aux restes d'Athènes que la cupidité et la barbarie de cet Anglais.

The attitude of the censorship toward educational books and problems can perhaps be regarded as of even more interest than the manner in which it carried out the policy imposed upon it in the field of political authorship. The importance of the training of the young was now being realized in a new sense; while the freedom of the eighteenth century was still demanded by some defiant spirits, the vast majority had fallen in with the declared policy of the new government of entrenching Society and the State behind the old religious and moral bulwarks, and developing anew a sense of discipline and a respect for authority that would harmonize with and be a secure prop for the restored monarchical system. The gropings of the Revolutionary and early Napoleonic years toward the setting up of educational machinery had now at length produced a system that seemed a marvel of centralization; the new University of France, embracing all stages and conditions of the educational process, was organized and operating. It was organized, as was the

censorship, as a section of the Ministry of the Interior, and the Director General in this first period seems animated by the ambition of being really a co-ordinate educational force, if not of developing a superior educational control. Count Joseph Portalis was a very serious young man, and (as has been shown in part above) he lost no time in magniloquently enunciating extended plans for influence through his office in general education, as well as for the direction of the adult spirit. His first general bulletin set forth this programme explicitly; after dwelling upon the unsatisfactory character of popular publications, he proceeds:

Il me semble que ce n'est que par le Décret du 5 février [establishing the censorship], que Votre Majesté a achevé de ressaisir la plénitude du Pouvoir souverain. La Philosophie moderne avait dépouillé le Sacerdoce de l'Empire absolu qu'il prétendait sur les âmes, mais elle ne l'avait point restitué à la Puissance Civile. L'Enseignement public restait en des mains indépendants et cette indépendance n'était pas moins contraire à un bon ordre et à l'intérêt de l'État que l'asservissement de cet enseignement à des Corps étrangers à l'État. Le grand Principe de l'unité était violé. Aujourd'hui l'Université Impériale ou le Corps enseignant, la Direction Générale de l'Imprimerie ou la Censure, et le Ministère des Cultes, forment un Ensemble complet, Oeuvre prodigieuse de Votre génie et par lequel Votre Majesté s'est remise en possession de cette Souveraineté des esprits et des Mœurs que les Législateurs anciens avaient si précieusement maintenue et que dans les siècles malheureux les ignorants dominateurs des nations avaient laissé échapper. Ce qui importe, Sire, c'est que ces grands Principes de Droit public, ces belles et fécondes Maximes de Gouvernement soient développés.

In later bulletins of the year Portalis followed this up by pointing out the measures he had taken or was meditating for reinforcing the work of the schools in popular education; some of these I have already referred to. With such aims text-books were sure of being regarded critically, and I have shown above how this care was applied in the field of recent history. The historical texts however seem to have remained quite unequal to the aims of the director.

Pourquoi ne remarquerait-on pas [he cries] combien à ce sujet il serait désirable qu'on put distinguer au milieu de tant de productions indigentes qui paraissent sur l'histoire de notre temps, deux cents pages éloquentes, riches de faits non encore exposés et appuyés sur les témoignages les plus authentiques, qui retraçassent la gloire de la Patrie et de son auguste Chef sous des couleurs vives et nobles, et qui pussent familiariser les élèves des Lycées avec les hauts faits du Fondateur de l'Empire, comme ils le sont avec ceux des héros de l'antiquité; qui gravassent dans leurs mémoires les noms des batailles d'Jéna et de Friedland comme le sont ceux des batailles d'Arbèles et Marathon, et qui leur fit connaître au moins aussi bien l'origine du Code Napoléon que celle des douze tables. Un des torts de notre éducation moderne a toujours été de nourrir exclusivement la jeunesse de souvenirs étrangers.

On another occasion after dwelling again on this defect the director announces his intention of entering upon a reform by compilations for the use of young children, as it was of special importance to apply the improvement at a tender age.

The taste of the Baron de Pommereul in text-books was apparently not so exacting as that of his predecessor. In January, 1813, he approved, though with doubt as to the title, an *Alphabet du Roi de Rome*, "qui se compose de 24 leçons sur les vertus nécessaires à un chef de gouvernement, suivies chacun d'un trait de la vie de l'Empereur qui offre l'exemple et l'application de cette vertu". He was however as dissatisfied as Portalis with the quality of the historical texts, and grudgingly passed a new *Instruction sur l'Histoire de France* with the remark, "Voilà depuis peu d'années à peu près le cinquantième qu'on publie, et tout mauvais et insignifiants qu'ils soient on les achète. C'est véritablement distribuer les poisons. Cet abrégiateur s'est jetté dans l'histoire des Gaulois, et nous a mené jusqu'à la bataille d'Austerlitz." A *Biographie des Jeunes Gens*, which is described as a bookseller's speculation, leads the director to complain that "il est bien fâcheux que l'Université, faite pour donner une direction à l'enseignement, n'ait pas occupé son nombreux et opulent état major à refaire tous les livres d'enseignement, qu'elle aurait rempli d'un autre esprit que celui qu'y peuvent mettre tant de ridicules et ignorans compilateurs, de celui en fin qui serait en harmonie avec nos mœurs, nos lois, et notre gouvernement". M. de Pommereul returns to this demand on the University on another occasion, attacking its inactivity in spite of its "grand état major de conseillers, d'inspecteurs, de recteurs, de proviseurs", etc. But in the field of historical research he found on one occasion more activity than he could approve of, when with grave distrust he passed M. Serlet's *Histoire Critique des Révolutions Romaines depuis Romulus jusqu'à Auguste*.

Nous avons longtemps lu l'histoire Romaine [remarks the bulletin] avec une admiration presque superstitieuse. . . . Les temps sont extrêmement changés. Ce n'est plus un doute raisonnable qu'on essaie d'inspirer, c'est une satire qu'on en veut faire. Tous les récits sont des fables. Nos docteurs modernes dans leurs leçons publiques nient que Régulus se soit immolé à sa patrie, comme si cet acte de dévouement, vrai ou faux, n'était pas toujours une admirable leçon à donner aux élèves. . . . qu'y a-t-il donc à gagner pour nos descendants à vouloir leur persuader que tant d'actes d'héroïsme et de vertu n'ont point eu lieu? Cette critique indiscrete et trop facile me paraît un des plus grands travers de l'esprit de nos nouveaux pédagogues.

For my present purpose the exercise of the censorship in the interests of religion and morality may be classed as educational.

But it is a large additional field of activity, evoking frequent interventions, and can only be glanced at. Here the censorship cannot be accused of bigoted or devotional tendencies, its spirit being rather the secularizing spirit of the eighteenth century, tempered by the conditions established through Bonaparte's restoration of the Church. Harmony between the new Charlemagne and his pope had indeed long since departed, but the State for statesmanlike reasons continued to demand respect for the Church, and to uphold its place as one of the chief props of society and government. In the field of morals the austere and pedagogical Portalis was much more severe than his older and more military successor; both the minister and the Emperor however seem to have intervened in the later period against a policy that was charged with being Puritanic. As we should expect, it is M. Portalis who is particularly concerned to uphold the Church as the basis of morality and an indispensable prop to Society and the State. He even enters on the Herculean labor of keeping the novel of the day in line with decency and safe theology. "Les romans", he says, "sont la bibliothèque des anti-chambres, et si elle est infestée de déclamations contre la croyance salutaire d'une Providence divine, ses lecteurs pauvres et violents et sûrs de l'impunité, seront des sots, comme le dit très bien Voltaire, s'ils n'assassinent pas leurs maîtres pour voler leur argent". Seizures and confiscations of obscene books and prints are frequently referred to. A manuscript is reported as shorn of "quelques détails obscènes", while in another the author is required to cast a veil "sur des nudités trop révoltantes" (the veil which one ingenious writer attempted to furnish by writing only the first letters of his objectionable words was not regarded by M. Portalis as sufficiently opaque). Another romance is prohibited on the ground of immorality in allowing the adventures of two rogues to be wound up by a happy and prosperous marriage; "Le roman n'est précisément obscène, mais il est au moins d'une très mauvaise moralité. C'est le vice menant à un état prospère."

The learned M. Lenoir in his *Histoire des Arts en France*, too engrossed in his researches to have noticed that the revolutionary tone was no longer in fashion, had permitted himself to make slighting references to divinity as "une invention de l'ignorance", as also to the great legislators of mankind.

On l'a prié de modifier ces locutions qui attaquent l'existence de Dieu, l'immortalité de l'âme, et le respect du législateur. On peut dans un ouvrage de philosophie disputer les points les plus importants de la religion naturelle, mais il ne faut pas dans un livre pour ainsi dire populaire glisser des maximes contraires à des dogmes qui n'appartiennent pas moins à la sociabilité qu'à la religion.

The criticism of manuscripts in the fields of dogma or religious philosophy was furnished by an ecclesiastic of decided Gallican convictions, and he was instructed to hold an even course between maintaining respect for religious things and encouraging mysticism or excessive piety. The frequently expressed apprehension as to mysticism (we might also say as to undue piety) is perhaps peculiarly French; a religious revival was however making headway, and there were good political reasons for not encouraging it. The *Souvenirs Continuels de l'Éternité* by M. Lasausse, described by the Director General as an "espèce de missionnaire à l'imagination bouillante", was suppressed because the author had addressed himself *con amore* to the task of terrifying the frivolous and was thought likely to have much success. Another and more philosophical book on the same subject was passed with the contemptuous remark, "Lira qui pourra". A theological work in support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is prohibited with the wish that "ces jongleries du 14^e siècle" might be relegated to the age which had produced them; this particular decision the minister did not accept, but forwarded the manuscript to the *Ministre des Cultes*. A treatise on Divine Love is rejected because containing "des germes de quiétisme qui ne me paraissent propres qu'à entretenir l'illusion de quelques faibles imaginations"; in this case also the minister orders a new report. *Les Anges Gardiens des Hommes* is in the Dutch language and the censor records the fact with satisfaction, for in his opinion it is a homily, "la plus triste, la plus froide, la plus ennuyeuse dont on ait pu s'aviser".

It was to the field of belles-lettres that most of the attention of the censors was directed, and their literary criticisms are often of very considerable interest, more especially perhaps with regard to the origins of French romanticism. Of the 116 manuscripts submitted to the censorship in the month of April, 1812, seventy-six were literary; we may probably regard this as a representative proportion. Even when not considered objectionable these productions were described in the bulletins, and the descriptions were frequently accompanied by reflections as to the literary conditions and tendencies of the day. The student of public spirit in France will find here much information concerning popular reading and the intellectual tastes and habits of the period; there are valuable indications also in the field of comparative literature. If space permitted it would be of interest to present references to and decisions concerning the light literature of the day in a sufficient degree to show not only its characteristics, but something of the literary fashions of the

time, and of the conditions under which the literary artist was working. Of the few notable books of these four years Mme. de Staël's *L'Allemagne* is practically the only one dealt with in these bulletins; as the tribulations of Mme. de Staël are well known and as the formal censorship played only a subordinate rôle I will not linger on the episode.⁵ The production of the period was for the most part unimportant, and this dearth of notable authorship was naturally associated with a strong tendency to translation and with popular support of translations. One of the most interesting instances is that of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, examined by the censorship in two independent versions of the early part of 1813 (the original had appeared in 1810). M. de Pommereul does not attempt corrections, but solemnly informing the minister that the poem deals with everything that is marvellous in a world of knights and fairies, adds, "L'imagination dans ce champ si vaste serait trop malheureuse si elle n'y trouvait pas de quoi intéresser"; in which we may assume that he was not voicing national feeling but was simply exhibiting a lack of sympathy with the romantic school. In the following month there is recorded the submission of a translation from Schlegel of what is entitled *Cours de Littérature Dramatique*, the original of which had appeared in Germany about two years before. We are surprised to find the book passed without change, in view of Schlegel's close association with Mme. de Staël and of the severe comments now made on the work by the Director General.

Composition tout-à-fait germanique, des longueurs, du vague, une métaphysique obscure, des niaiseries de pédant. Au travers de cette bigarrure des observations fines, une érudition rare. . . . Schlegel paraît peu connaître nos tragiques français, et dans ses éloges ou ses censures n'en dit rien de neuf ou de saillant, mais il dénigre Molière avec un mépris, une bêtise et une ignorance, dont l'excès va jusqu'au ridicule. Le Ciel pour le punir de cette impertinence semble lui avoir ôté le jugement lorsqu'il traite du théâtre anglais. Son idolâtrie pour Shakspears est poussé jusqu'au délire; aussi admire-t-il beaucoup Calderon qui lui paraît un petit Shakespeare. M. Schlegel ne gâte pas ses Allemands. Il peint assez naïvement les vacillations de leur théâtre, livré tour-à-tour à de plats imitateurs ou à des rêveurs incertains et chimériques.

The leniency here shown to Herr Schlegel was extended a little later to a young author who "paraît un élève de l'école allemande très-peu favorable à notre théâtre"; this was Guizot, then in his twenty-sixth year, and the *Vie de Corneille* which we see thus emerging from the jaws of death was perhaps his entry into the world of authorship.

⁵ Mme. de Staël's clashes with the censorship and the police will be found detailed by Welschinger, together with the fortunes of some other notable authors.

In the variegated array of minor literary productions that the bulletins bring before us the leading place was taken by efforts in the field of romance. And it is to these romances that the critical and corrective labors of the censorship were mainly directed; Portalis in particular we have seen strongly impressed with the necessity of regulating this "reading of the antechamber". It is interesting to find that most of these romances are either translations or imitations of the English, and that the species advancing most rapidly in favor is the historical. This species however was decidedly not in favor with either M. Portalis or M. de Pommereul. In November, 1810, the former laboriously describes the demerits of a work of imagination which was masquerading under the title of *Le Pessimisme ou le Fin du 18^{me} Siècle*; it is, he declares, in turn critical, philosophical, moral, historical, and lewd, but particularly objectionable because of its travesty of history. "On a pensé . . . qu'il n'appartient à personne de mêler des noms connus à des récits chimériques, et que les malheurs des pères devaient être pour leurs enfans de sérieuses leçons et non l'objet d'un vain amusement". At a later period M. de Pommereul impolitely refers to a romance as "de l'espèce bâtarde qui n'est ni l'histoire ni le roman et qu'on dit historique". Translation from and imitations of Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Edgeworth, and other British story-tellers frequently appear, and the originals are usually referred to with respect. There is some translation from the German, but it is usually into Dutch for consumption in Holland. Such a book is *Le Chevalier de la Vérité*, described as "très plat mais sans danger"; the director adds, "Il paraît que la Hollande fourmille de traducteurs qui pillent toutes les littératures voisines, et qu'elle fournit peu d'écrivains dans sa langue qui sachent tirer leurs ouvrages de leur propre fond". The romances of German origin are evidently too heavy to be used in the original, but they seem to be making headway in adaptations or imitations. A propos of *L'Anneau Lumineux ou les Mistères de l'Orient*, the bulletin remarks, "Des noirceurs et des monstrosités Anglaises, notre légèreté nous fait passer à la mélancholie allemande". To this melancholy category probably belonged the romance by Mme. de Rome, the most of which was taken up by the heroine's recital of her misfortunes to the daughter of her jailor, and the only admirable feature of which in the censor's opinion is the patience exhibited by the jailor's daughter. The last bulletin of the series, of January, 1814, refers to *Sindall et Annesly ou le Faux Ami*, as a "roman traduit de l'allemand. Sans vraisemblance comme sans intérêt, rempli jusqu'à satiété de maximes triviales et de ces détails insipides

que les Allemands sont habitués à prendre pour du naturel et que nos écrivains, je ne dis pas nos auteurs, s'empressent de copier faute de talent et d'imagination. La traduction est devenue un métier, et celui qui nuit la plus au maintien du goût." M. de Pommereul seems to the last unconscious that there may be any connection between this deplorable condition of things and the activity of the office over which he was presiding.

Among the literary fashions of the period that are indicated in the bulletins is, we are surprised to learn, a demand for books on Mme. de Maintenon; "Il est", we are told, "à la mode d'en parler et de la vanter". The output of poetry seems slight and the director's remarks about specimens submitted are usually disrespectful. M. Cantalou would publish *Oeuvres Poétiques et Lyriques*; he is allowed to, but the censor crossly remarks that he has made a mistake in the title for there is nothing in the book remotely resembling a poem or a lyric. A producer of *Pensées Tristes* is described as a poet who has lost his mistress and been thrown thereby into a melancholy that he labors to make interesting and profitable; "mais les grandes et véritables douleurs sont muets". A translation of selections from Pope is received with an amiability that is exceptional, and with some remarks on the literary connections between France and England that are of interest. "Voltaire est le premier qui ait fait connaître Pope en France. Depuis ce temps Le Tourneur nous familiarisa avec Young et Shakspeare comme Prévot nous avait fait goûter Richardson, mais c'est l'émigration pendant la révolution et le retour des émigrés qui a surtout fait parmi nous la fortune de la littérature anglaise".

I have perhaps yielded somewhat to a natural tendency to dwell disproportionately on the trivialities and illiberalities of these reports. A more extended survey would reveal much sound sense. But it is not necessary to moralize on this episode in the history of censorship. As censorships go it was perhaps on the whole not a very bad one, and it may be doubted whether the literature and learning of the First Empire would have been distinguished under any conditions. Sober thought and modest worth were not in fashion; the imaginative faculties were dulled or satiated amidst the engrossing marvels of every-day fact. Literature will be trivial when men think it such, and public spirit cannot endure without ideals. France under Napoleon had lost the sense of proportion, and France paid the penalty in various ways.

It was in May, 1813, between two German battle-days, that Count Beugnot, falling into conversation with the Emperor on these

matters, suddenly found himself violently reproached with being one of those "ideologues" who would have freedom of the press and other such excesses of revolutionary days. And putting his hand to the hilt of his sword, Napoleon cried, "Tant que celle-là pendra à mon côté, et puisse-t-elle y pendre encore longtemps, vous n'aurez aucune des libertés après lesquelles vous soupirez". That sword was broken within the year, and on April 3, 1814, the Senate which had accepted all the tyrannies of the régime and which had never once dared to use the defenses of freedom that the Constitution had pretended to endow it with, passed solemnly an Act of Deposition which in its recital of these tyrannies declared that Napoleon had "constamment soumise à la censure arbitraire de la police, la liberté de la presse, établie et consacrée comme l'un des droits de la nation". It was not an accurate statement, and the Senate had no right to utter a reproach; before the end of the year these same senators had joined in the setting-up of the censorship of the Restoration.

VICTOR COFFIN.

SOCIAL RELIEF IN THE NORTHWEST DURING THE CIVIL WAR

THE outbreak of the Great War in 1914 probably sent tumbling more individual philosophies of life than any other event in history, in so short a time. Millions who did not know that they had a philosophy of life, suddenly found that their whole way of viewing their relationships to outside things had been changed in a night. In America two fundamental conceptions, the capacity of human nature for progressive improvement and the efficiency of democratic government, were emphatically challenged. The small minority who had denied them claimed recognition as prophets, many of those who had doubted joined them, and the majority became doubters. The era of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which hung in the popular imagination as the greatest of world calamities, was instantly surpassed by the scope and the intensity of the new struggle. The material advances of a hundred years served only to intensify the horror, and the increased efficiency of governmental organization had made it possible to wring the last ounce of strength from every individual, and seemed to have hardened the heart of the combatants to endure and to inflict injuries which the world supposed it had outgrown.

A minute comparison of the two great war epochs, however, brings out certain significant differences, which are in the direction of what is commonly called progress. The treatment of sick and wounded has improved more in the last hundred years than in all previous history; and this has quite obviously been due, not only to the increase of medical skill, but also to the amount of attention devoted to them. Napoleon recognized that an army "marches on its belly", but the wars of his period show nothing of the absorption of the world's mind by the "boys in the trenches", which has for two years busied the leisured classes in neutral as well as belligerent countries. Still more modern is the love and care lavished upon non-combatants. Nearly all the belligerent countries have provided maintenance allowances, and in addition have raised great funds by subscription for their relief, while neutral countries have poured out millions for the refugees of all nations and have extended their care to such non-essential but significant details as Christmas gifts for the children.

The motives for these changes are as varied and even contradictory as are the forces underlying any other great historic change. Not love of humanity alone but also economic insistence upon the necessity of conserving national resources, has given the impulse, and the result is not due entirely to change of heart but in large measure to the white light of publicity which makes even wilful blindness to conditions almost impossible. But whatever the process, the fact remains that the internal history of the two war cycles reveals sufficient advance in democratic regard for the welfare of the individual, and sufficient flooding of national boundaries by the spirit of humanity, to constitute if not an epoch, at least the difference between the opening and the middle of an epoch.

Midway between the two came the Crimean War and our own Civil War. During the first Florence Nightingale caught the attention of the world for the sufferings of the soldiers and exhibited an organizing ability that gave a solid basis to her dreams. In the second the best talent of our own country took up the problem. The Sanitary Commission, independent of the government but acting in co-operation with it, not only gave incalculable comfort to the men in the ranks, but made it impossible for any government in the future to neglect them. Out of their labors arose the Red Cross and since then countless provisions, national and international, have represented a world-wide effort to reduce the horrors of the battlefield to a minimum.

The less sensational, but not less real, wretchedness of those who remained at home, when the breadwinners and chief counsellors of countless families were called to war, naturally attracted less prompt and less intense attention. The soldiers' pay was never large enough to supply their necessities, and while they were seldom left to starve, they were merged in the general mass of poor. Where bounties were granted for enlistment, as in the Revolution and the War of 1812, they served to stave off distress, but their purpose seems to have been purely that of securing recruits. They merely showed that under the volunteer system, the individual could coerce the community into doing something for him: they were determined by supply and demand, by the need for men not the needs of the men. Some may remember that the problem was dealt with by committees during the Spanish War, but most persons would date the first general consciousness of its existence to Kipling's *Absent-Minded Beggar* during the Boer War. Nevertheless it had been handled in a large and systematic manner forty years before.

Promptly, and without important discussion, the attitude toward

the dependents of the soldiers changed on the outbreak of our Civil War. Or rather it was recognized that it had changed. The general trend of thought and political action had been such that, when the old situation recurred, it was at once realized that it could not be met in the old way; that the families of our volunteer soldiers must not be left without care, that the dependents of those who gave up their time and strength and risked their lives for the general good, must not be treated as at one with those who were unable to maintain themselves in the ordinary times of peace.

Everywhere the states took up the problem; not only the states of East¹ and West, but also the separated states of the South,² where impoverished South Carolina in 1863 and 1864, the financial system failing, provided a tax in kind, two and then three per cent. of the harvest of wheat, corn, and many other products. In cases where a state lagged behind its fellows their example was used to prick it on, but, in the main, action was due to simultaneous impulse from within, rather than to interaction. This is shown by the independence of their measures, each employing the machinery ready to its hand. The various plans show none of that slavish copying of one state by another, which so often characterized legislation even before the days of state reference bureaus and governors' conferences. As the war wore on there developed some degree of similarity in the results aimed at, but, on the whole, the period was one of experiment; our federal system was working according to its genius.

In taking Wisconsin as a centre from which to study this movement, the leading motive was the accessibility of a mass of manuscript material,³ which made it possible to study it intimately. This is an advantage that Wisconsin will continue to enjoy over most states, for the administration was more centralized and this meant centralization of material. For purposes of comparison I have extended the study to the other four states of the Old Northwest. The results would not have shown any striking differences if the Trans-Mississippi had been included, but the East would show some

¹ The Eastern States deserve special study, as some methods quite different from those noted here were employed.

² The provisions by the Southern States began somewhat later but were conceived on a most generous scale. Of their execution I know nothing.

³ War Papers, Governors' Correspondence, Relief. This material is very extensive, but is not yet arranged, and there exists at present no method of reference. It was all examined for this subject and all the letters noted later, except those specified, are to be found in it. The dates given will afford means of reference later, as it will be chronologically arranged.

interesting divergencies and the South, by choice and necessity, used methods quite its own.

To begin with the least direct relief, the system of moratorium, which was resorted to in 1914, finds some counterpart in 1861. In an effort to ameliorate the effect upon the currency of the overthrow of the credit of the Southern States, upon whose bonds it rested, Wisconsin, on April 17, provided that all actions against banks or banking institutions to compel specie payment be deferred until December 1, 1861, that the state laws with regard to the same subject be not enforced, nor any bank-note be protested by a state officer until the same date. Ohio, on January 16, 1862, authorized banks to suspend specie payments until fifteen days after the governor should proclaim that actual resumption had been carried into effect "by a majority of the regular and legally authorized banks of issue in the City of New York".

More specifically affecting soldiers was the Wisconsin law of April 17, 1861, exempting "from all civil process . . . such persons as may enroll themselves in the service of the country". This was modified on May 25 to exclude actions for the foreclosure of mortgages and to enforce mechanics' liens, and on March 15, 1862, to exclude actions in trusteeship and joint indebtedness. On March 22, 1862, the legislature provided that in the case of volunteers all sales of state lands on credit be held *in statu quo* until three months after their discharge, and on April 5, 1862, it was ordered that a stay be granted in all mortgage foreclosure proceedings. On March 31, 1863, volunteers were allowed until April 1, 1865, to redeem "all lands" sold for taxes.⁴ Michigan provided in 1862 that all volunteers be exempt from arrest except for "treason, felony, or breach of the peace", that their separate property be exempt "from all process by way of attachment", and that they forfeit no right to land belonging to the trust funds of the state until a year after discharge. Ohio took action practically similar, by laws of May 1, 1861, and March 10 and April 10, 1862. Illinois briefly declared on May 3, 1861, that proof of enlistment was sufficient cause for "the continuance of any suit".

The volunteer had good ground for the belief that relief would not be limited to such negative action. The blazing posters which those seeking recruits plastered along the city streets and spread broadcast over the countryside, dwelt not only on the generous pay offered by the United States, and its land bounties and pensions, but

⁴ This still left the war-widow unprotected in her indebted property. See letter of December 22, 1863.

very frequently on the care that would be taken of those at home.⁵ The orators at the enrollment meetings asserted that the citizens who remained behind would never allow those dependent on the soldiers to feel the pinch of want. A Wisconsin woman writing to the governor, November 29, 1863, said: "My husband in speaking to the recruiting officer said he had nothing to leave his family provided he should never come back again. The officer told him his family should never suffer." A careful man wrote the governor August 10, 1864, that he and a son had enlisted, leaving a wife and seven children, that he had received two hundred dollars bounty, and that he counted on sending fifteen dollars a month from his own pay, the same amount from that of his son, and on five dollars a month state aid, which would be sufficient for them.

Wisconsin was the only state of this group which undertook to handle the subject through the central administration. On May 25, 1861, it was voted that "non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates mustered into the service of the United States or of this state . . . receive . . . in addition to the pay provided . . . the sum of five dollars a month to all volunteers having families dependent on them for their support". The execution of the law was placed in the hands of the secretary of state,⁶ and he was to authorize payments only while the soldier was in actual service as evinced by monthly reports from the regimental officers,⁷ or, after April 4, 1864, from hospital authorities. The operation of the law was gradually extended to all Wisconsin volunteers, but never included those entering the regular United States service and consequently excluded the navy. Soldier and family must be residents of the state. The term family was ambiguous. It was defined March 22, 1862, as: "Wife living, and actually dependent", or, there being no wife, children under fourteen, or no children, "infirm or indigent parent or parents, actually dependent upon the labor of said volunteer". By a law of April 4, 1864, in the case of children who

⁵ See Fish, "The Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers", *Military Historian and Economist*, July, 1916.

⁶ From this it is obvious that the governor's correspondence which was used does not tell the whole story. Nevertheless the habit of appealing to the governor was very strong, and correspondence sufficient in extent and distribution to warrant general conclusions is to be found in his file. The letters were often endorsed with a reference to the secretary of state including an instruction, and then returned to the governor's file. There is also a mass of material in the office of the state treasurer.

⁷ This created great injustice as the reports were by no means regular and often the reporting officers careless. More complaints were due to this provision than to any other.

had lost their mother by death or desertion, the money was to go to "the person having such child or children in charge". No family was to receive more than five dollars a month, but by the law of March 3, 1863, a family having more than one breadwinner in the ranks could transfer its claim in case the one in whose name they received the extra pay should die. A law of April 2, 1863, evinced some delicacy of feeling by allowing the state officials to omit the names of recipients from their annual reports.

Michigan did not provide for state relief, but by laws of May 10, 1861, and January 17, 1862, made it the duty of the board of supervision of each organized county "whenever necessary, to make adequate provision for all requisite relief and support of the families" of volunteers, "separate from, and independent of, the relief, temporary or otherwise, afforded to poor persons under existing laws". In the first law the families of officers were included with those of the men, but the second followed the general practice and excluded them. Relief was not to exceed fifteen dollars a month for each family; the soldier in behalf of whom it was drawn must be in actual service, and in 1864 it was provided⁸ that the family must have been resident in the state at the time of enlistment, and the responsibility was to fall upon the county to which the enlistment was credited. March 20, 1863, drafted men and substitutes were granted the benefit of the law, but not drafted men who furnished substitutes.

Ohio stood midway between Wisconsin and Michigan. It left the relief work to the counties, but the legislature made sure that they should have funds, by levying a state tax. The growing seriousness of the problem is indicated by the fact that in 1861 this was not to exceed one-half mill,⁹ in 1862 it was fixed at three-fifths of a mill,¹⁰ in 1863¹¹ at one mill, and in 1864¹² and 1865 at two mills. The grant to the family was to be "as their necessities shall require", and the family was defined as wife, minor children, or dependent parents. Ohio was generous in her comprehension, as the families of officers were not excluded; by law of February 13, 1862, "soldiers enlisted since April 1, 1861, in the regular army of the United States" were included, and by that of March 21, 1863, the families of "marines". The governor announced in his message of 1865 that five thousand dollars had been used from his contingent

⁸ Joint resolution no. 5.

⁹ Ohio, *Session Laws*, May 10, 1861.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1862.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1863.

¹² *Ibid.*, February 25, 1864.

fund to relieve the dependents of members of the National Guard who had been employed for a short time.

Indiana made no state provision until March 4, 1865. It then levied two mills "for the purpose of supporting soldiers' families, and sick and wounded Indiana soldiers in hospitals". It included "soldiers, seamen, and marines", but narrowed the definition of family to include merely wife, children under twelve or insane, or dependent mother. Wife or mother was to receive eight dollars a month, with two dollars for each child.

Illinois made no state provision. Even without this exception it is evident that the subject demands study of the activities of counties, cities, towns, and villages. In Wisconsin the state aid was inadequate of itself, and elsewhere the local units had full charge of administration.

In Wisconsin, laws of May 15, 1861, and September 25, 1862, granted the local government authorities the power of taxing "for the support of the families . . . of volunteers". One indication of the frequent exercise of this right is the great number of laws legalizing such taxes in cases where some irregularity of form occurred. Other laws permitted in individual cases the different wards of various cities to tax themselves for the same purpose.¹³ For the most part this local relief was voted by the towns, cities, and villages, their total contributions for war expenses amounting to \$7,134,341.12, as compared with \$618,164.55 paid by the counties.¹⁴ Twenty-six counties taxed themselves while thirty-two did not, but in only three was there a complete absence of town and county relief. Rock County was perhaps the most generous, giving at one period ten dollars in winter and a little less in summer.¹⁵ In most cases some smaller sum was given to a wife, with additional allowance for minor children.¹⁶

I have no record of the Michigan counties. As we have seen, they were all required by state law to take adequate relief measures, but they were the judges of what was adequate, except that no family was to receive over fifteen dollars. State and county relief were therefore identified. Not so in Ohio. The law of May 10, 1861, was really a permissive law for counties. The law of March 21, 1863, allowed the counties to levy half a mill in addition to the

¹³ Wisconsin, *Session Laws*, March 10, 1863, allowed the city council of Watertown to tax the fifth and sixth wards not over three dollars a month for each wife, and fifty cents for each child, etc.

¹⁴ *Annual Report of secretary of state*, 1865, app., pp. 132-133.

¹⁵ Letter of Ogden Barrett, November 4, 1862, etc.

¹⁶ It seems, however, to have been the Wisconsin practice to vote a definite sum, whereas Michigan and Ohio tried to meet particular needs.

state tax for the purpose, and that of February 26, 1864, one mill. The governor in his message of 1865 stated that fifteen of twenty-five counties reporting had made such additional levies. Indiana relied for four years wholly on the voluntary action of the counties. By law of May 11, 1861, however, it authorized the local government authorities to levy a special tax "for the protection and maintenance of the families of volunteers in the army of the United States and the state of Indiana". I have not been able to make a study of the action of many Indiana counties, but if we may judge from the experience of Illinois, it was probably dictated in large measure by political proclivities and there must have been unrelieved suffering in many places.

Illinois as a state did nothing on the subject either by state aid or by general instruction or even authorization to the local governing boards. Governor Yates, in his message of 1863, referred to the fact that many of the soldiers were "very poor and have large and helpless families". He recommended that the state refund bounties granted by the counties and that the legislature request Congress to increase soldiers' pay. Neither of these measures, both of which ignored the varying needs of individuals, was adopted. Many counties, however, without special authorization, voted money. I have not been able to differentiate the portion of grants paid for relief from that paid for bounties and general war expenses. It is significant, however, that thirty counties made no grants.¹⁷ Of these only Jo Daviess was in the north. Champaign and DeWitt stood next in latitude, and of those south of this line, twenty-seven made no grant and twenty-six made grants.

Bounties have several times been mentioned in connection with relief. Properly they belong to another classification. They were not proportioned according to the needs of those receiving them, and the motive for granting them was primarily different from that impelling relief measures. Nevertheless they served to allay the anxiety of those enlisting for their families, and during and after 1863 they played a large part in the support of soldiers' families. This close connection is illustrated by a Wisconsin law of March 2, 1865, allowing Oshkosh to levy a "special volunteer tax" for bounties, the payment of which, in the case of married men, could be made in monthly installments.

State and local relief was not the sole reliance of those left at home. The pay of the soldier was not sufficient to provide for maintenance but was an item in the support of his family. The

¹⁷ John Moses, *Illinois*, II. 735-737.

problem, however, was to get the money from the soldier to the family, and sometimes it was not easy to persuade the soldier to send home as much as it was felt he should.¹⁸ This situation led to the development of the allotment service. This was organized on a somewhat peculiar basis, in that the officers employed in it held United States commissions but were appointed and paid by the states, which also managed the funds collected. Wisconsin on April 3, 1862, provided for allotment commissioners, with salaries fixed by the governor but not to exceed one thousand dollars each, or three thousand dollars in all. The state treasurer was to receive and distribute the money. Michigan authorized the payment of the travelling expenses of commissioners.¹⁹ Ohio, on April 14, 1862, authorized the appointment of not over six, to receive expenses and two dollars a day while in service; this number was reduced on April 2, 1863, to three. A law of February 4, 1862, provided that the money be received into the state treasury, but paid over to the counties for distribution. Indiana took no state action on the subject, but the energetic Governor Morton saw to it that there were commissioners, and the Indiana system seems to have been effective.²⁰ Governor Yates of Illinois, in his message of 1863, protested the demand that the states pay for the allotment commissioners, but announced that two men had entered upon the service and recommended that they be paid.

The United States government was so strongly committed to the payment of pensions, that the Northern States deemed it unnecessary to devise any permanent plans for the future, but there was an opportunity for real suffering during the period between the death of the volunteer and the obtaining of the pension, while the securing of the latter was often a matter not of time alone, but also of money and knowledge.²¹ Wisconsin, on April 2, 1863, provided that the state aid continue six months after the death of the principal, unless

¹⁸ Governors' Correspondence, Organization, letter of allotment commissioner, Robert T. Fraser, July 28, 1862: "Found considerable reluctance. . . . I fear we will find it so with all the old Regiments, and I would earnestly but respectfully suggest that the allotments of the Regiments now being raised be taken *before they leave the state, and while the home feeling is strong.*"

¹⁹ Michigan, *Session Laws*, extra sess., 1862, joint resolution no. 13.

²⁰ Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* (Chicago, 1910), I. 226.

²¹ Mrs. S. E. Vaughn wrote, November 15, 1863, that she had received no state aid as her husband had been a commissioned officer, but she wished aid in getting a pension. Mrs. M. A. Sewall wrote, December 3, 1863, asking why it cost so much to collect back money, bounty, and to get a pension. This letter is endorsed: "Will be called to attention of legislature to appoint a state agent to do it." See also *Messages and Proclamations of the Wisconsin War Governors*, Wisconsin History Commission, Reprints, no. 2.

the pension begin before. This act created an injustice in that it applied only to those who died after the act was passed. Some of the local relief, however, was extended without regard to this provision.²² Michigan²³ and Ohio²⁴ from the beginning extended the relief until one year after death. The appointment of agents to assist the applicant in getting the pension was frequently urged, but the military claims agents appointed by Ohio under the law of April 14, 1863, seem not to have had these functions.²⁵ The only agents who seem to have been authorized to attend to such business were those of Illinois, appointed under the act of February 16, 1865.

In addition to these public resources, private charity, organized and unorganized, naturally assisted the necessitous in their own communities, as has doubtless been the case from the beginning of organized society. A letter to the governor of Wisconsin from the relief committee of Kenosha, June 13, 1861, asked how the state aid was to be distributed, "as it is important for us in our operations to know the facts in relation to the sources of supply for relief purposes". In many cases employers offered to continue pay to those enlisting.²⁶ A letter of June 23, 1864, from a woman with a husband and three sons in the army, but who by a technicality could not draw state aid, complained of being left "a subject for the aid society". The governor replied: "The local authorities or citizens should do something for you." In many cases subscriptions were made for this purpose in the flush of enthusiasm that were disregarded later on, and a Wisconsin law of April 2, 1863, enabled the town or city treasurer to bring suit to enforce such obligations. A wife writing to the governor, July 31, 1862, says that she is "depending upon the *few* loyal men there are left",²⁷ they

²² Letter from Mrs. Laura Jones, May 22, 1862: "I send you a few lines begging you to extend the five dollars to those that have been dead the longest, why not to those that suffer the most my husband died in December but I am very destitute I draw from the city of Fond du Lac three dollars per month. Now I am destitute of a good husband and nothing to do with."

²³ Michigan, *Session Laws*, 1861, May 10.

²⁴ Ohio, *Session Laws*, 1861, May 10.

²⁵ "It shall be the duty of said agents to investigate, give advise and take such other action as will enable the discharged Ohio soldier speedily to obtain free of charge the money due him from the general government." February 17, 1865, a bureau for this purpose was established at Columbus.

²⁶ Butterfield, *History of Dane County*, p. 625 (August, 1862). See also Isaac Stephenson's *Recollections of a Long Life*. In the absence of evidence it is not probable that such promises were often kept for the four years of the war. They were made for the most part when it was supposed to be a three months' affair.

²⁷ The Cyrus Woodman Papers, manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, contain references to such cases.

are poor but they do what they can; she hopes there will be a draft to take the men who ought to go; she doesn't know whether they fail to enlist because they are disloyal or "because the families of those that went at the *first call* have been so neglected by the state and general governments"; the county no longer gives assistance because it was claimed that some of those who received aid were "getting rich". Of course the women's own work was another resource. In the East particularly much was done by way of securing them an opportunity of work on soldiers' clothing—though they were seldom paid a real economic return for their work. On the farms they naturally extended their already busy hours and saved many a homestead for their families. In the small towns there was little opportunity, as one woman wrote the governor, July 25, 1864: "there are so many now left as I am that we scarce can find enough to do to keep want from our doors". She asks a postmastership, thus connecting the question of provision for the soldier's family with that for the soldier himself after the war. A joint resolution of the Wisconsin legislature of February 23, 1865, ran: "That it is the desire of the people of Wisconsin, that the post-offices and other federal offices within the state, be given, first, to disabled soldiers who may be competent, and, next, to other veteran soldiers."

The total amount of aid thus granted or secured in the five states was probably between thirty-five and forty-five millions. State aid cost Wisconsin \$5333, to October, 1861; \$283,614.71, the year following; \$604,991.42, in 1863; \$615,693.68, in 1864; and \$1,030,537.36, in 1865, or \$2,545,873.78 in all.²⁸ It is impossible to separate the proportion of the local aid which was given for family relief from that for bounties; I estimate one-third,²⁹ or \$2,580,000. Private contributions must have brought this local total to at least three million. The total soldiers' pay that passed through the hands of the state was \$1,051,519.89, reaching its height in 1863 when \$451,269.16 was distributed and declining to \$215,159.77 in 1865.³⁰ The probable total from these sources for Wisconsin was, therefore, about six and a half millions.

²⁸ Wisconsin, *Treasurer's Report*, 1862-1865. Of course this does not add up right, as is so frequently the case in financial reports of the Civil War period. The total figure is the more apt to be correct.

²⁹ This estimate is based upon the weighing and comparison of a large amount of material. It is doubtful if the material exists for an approximately exact statement.

³⁰ Wisconsin, *Treasurer's Report*, 1862-1865. Governor Solomon stated in his message of 1863 that up to December 15, 1862, \$1,783,705.92 had been allotted. The cause of this discrepancy I have not been able to discover, but the amounts collected for Wisconsin and for Ohio are about equal in proportion to their population.

The Ohio state tax actually furnished the needy with \$3,590,-257.34.³¹ The county taxes devoted to this purpose could not be exactly estimated from the data at my disposal. During the war, however, the special county taxes increased over seven million. While much of this was for other than war purposes, it seems reasonable to suppose that two million and a half was for relief work.³² The allotments of pay amounted to \$5,135,689.03,³³ and this makes a total of over eleven million for Ohio.

For Michigan I suppose a per capita expenditure half-way between that of Ohio and Wisconsin, and reach \$4,800,000.³⁴ By somewhat complicated calculations I reach an estimate of \$6,600,000 for Indiana, and \$8,400,000 for Illinois. Such figures may be very far from the truth, but I am very confident that they represent the minimum.³⁵

³¹ Ohio, *Auditor's Reports*, 1862-1866. The assessment of 1865 was not all needed, and \$800,000 was turned over to the sinking fund and \$75,000 to a soldiers' home. The figure given is that of money actually paid the counties. There is room for discrepancies in the various accounts and the figure might be varied somewhat either way. The report of 1864 gives some estimates of distribution, but they chiefly show how few data the state government possessed.

³² "Other special taxes" amounted, in 1862, to \$279,743.04; in 1863, to \$1,292,266.60; in 1864, to \$3,975,698.07; in 1865, to \$2,735,107.84. Ohio, *Auditor's Reports*, 1862-1866.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ This is merely an arbitrary estimate. I am, however, confident that it does not overstate what Michigan did.

³⁵ I based this upon the finding that over considerable areas the amount of aid per family, where it was granted, tended to be much the same. Consequently the Michigan average was applied to Illinois, but the thirty counties not making grants were deducted. Over two millions must have come from soldier allotments, which leaves a little less than \$6,500,000 to be accounted for. J. S. Currey, *Chicago: its History and its Builders*, II, 148, gives \$2,801,239 for the war expenses of Cook County and Chicago. Moses, *Illinois*, II, 737, gives \$15,307,074 for all the counties (see also Davidson and Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois*, pp. 741-742). Taking one-third of this state total as probably for home relief, gives about five million. This leaves \$1,500,000 for town and private relief. Owing to the local organization of Illinois, the town of course gave much less than in Wisconsin, though the system in the northern tiers of counties was not dissimilar. The arbitrary estimate thus checked seems reasonably probable, with a tendency to under, rather than over, statement.

In the case of Indiana the actual figures for counties are very scattering. The arbitrary estimate is made on the same basis as that for Illinois, an equivalent number of counties being deducted.

It is to be noticed that the number of counties making no provision is not so great as the number controlled by the Democrats, though it was the Democratic area that failed to contribute. This is not surprising, as in no case where the voters were intimately consulted did the full Democratic strength support the extreme anti-war measures of the party leaders. In connection with soldiers'

These were very large sums for the people of that day to distribute, and the lack of attention which they received was due, of course, to the vastly greater drain of actual military expenditures and the more picturesque calls of the sick and wounded soldiery. Naturally so much was not spent without controversy and without suspicion of fraud, and probably actual fraud. In Wisconsin the payment of the state aid was sometimes suspended and often endangered because of lack of funds.³⁶ As early as November 11, 1861, Governor Randall of Wisconsin was informed that "gross frauds have been perpetrated by soldiers, through the agency of Justice . . . and others in Milwaukee in procuring the bounty given to families", and, in his message of 1863, Governor Lewis recommended a law to punish those who improperly sought relief. The governor of Ohio in his message of 1865 referred to complaints made of township officials. The raising of such sums, moreover, was no mean burden upon communities so heavily taxed and subjected to the high cost of living brought about by the war. In Wisconsin an ingrained dislike of public borrowing, although it did not altogether prevent loans, nevertheless stimulated the effort to meet the expense by taxation. This proved to be impossible, and the result in this case, as in others, was that a firm insistence upon an economic system too rigid for a state of its frontier condition, forced resort to the dangerous expedient of paper. The state paid in real money but many localities issued promises to pay, scrip of various kinds and denominations. On February 2, 1864, Beaver Dam was authorized to collect a tax to redeem such scrip, and similar action was frequently taken. On March 28, 1864, however, the local authorities were authorized to issue bonds.

Michigan authorized borrowing from the beginning, but in 1863 legalized "certain volunteer family relief orders". Ohio allowed temporary borrowing, but not Indiana. In Illinois the counties seem to have pursued an independent course, which occasionally required special legislation by the legislature. January 14, 1863, Boone County was ordered to levy a tax to repay orders which had been

pay it must be remembered that such pay reached the families in large amounts, even where there was no allotment system. In fact the special provision for the families may have somewhat diminished the sense of responsibility on the part of the soldier. It is probable that states with good systems succeeded in directing a somewhat greater proportion to the families, but the difference was probably hardly as great as might be supposed. I have somewhat lowered the Wisconsin and Ohio averages in estimating it for Indiana and Illinois, and do not believe the result is greater than the amount actually secured.

³⁶ *Messages and Proclamations of the Wisconsin War Governors*, pp. 104-109, 144. For a long time the financial provision was a hand-to-mouth affair.

issued, and on February 12, Bureau County was authorized to borrow money "for the benefit of volunteers, and in aid of the families of soldiers", and to issue county orders.

No such provision had ever before been made for the families of those fighting for their country. In spite of defects of system and irregularities of operation their actual needs were better attended to than in any previous war, and most notable was the general, almost universal, sentiment that such provision was not an ordinary charity, but was to be granted and accepted as a due. For one must remember that in the sixties ordinary charity was still upon the basis of sentiment rather than of social obligation. In the case of neither did the sense of social solidarity and conservation of native resources play any part. The noble words of the Indiana statute: "for the protection and maintenance of the families of volunteers",³⁷ are to be taken purely with their apparent meaning.

The spirit of the time is probably better illustrated in the correspondence of the successive governors of Wisconsin than anywhere else. One almost feels that the governor was regarded as the family counsellor in the absence of the husband. Always respectful, the letters are as intimate as to a father. A maiden writing "on her knees" pours out four pages of supplication that she be allowed to accompany her soon-to-be husband to the front—and obtained the favor, one can imagine with what result in stimulating the profanity of the officers.³⁸ A young wife writes that her husband's "fokes will keep him from doing anything for her".³⁹ Another admonishes the governor: "Now don't forget to get him discharged for i can't get a long without him he is a good man and i don't want him to die down there for i have my hands ful and heart full."⁴⁰ A young lady rather pertly states, "As I have been teaching school for a long time past and have grown rather sick of the business I thought that I would turn my attension another way"—nursing.⁴¹ An anxious writer wishes the governor to assist him in finding out about "a young brother who" does not write—"never was any hand to write".⁴² A wife writes: "He is a kind man to his family and he is near sited and he has kidney complaint and he is forty-four years old and he can't be good for much there." One

³⁷ See above, p. 316.

³⁸ February 26, 1864.

³⁹ August 1, 1863. Her husband had been transferred to the Regulars: "i hav to eat and ware clothes the same as though he staid in his old regiment."

⁴⁰ September 17, 1863.

⁴¹ July 20, 1863.

⁴² September 10, 1861.

wife with four children asks the governor for a pass to Cincinnati where her mother is thought to be dying;⁴³ a sister writes: "Oh for the love of mercy do dear Governor grant me a pass. Do answer by return of mail."⁴⁴ A young lady about to go South to distribute articles for the soldiers in behalf of the local ladies' aid society asks the governor to facilitate her going by giving her "a Wet-Nurse commission or some other instrument in writing".⁴⁵ A soldier wants to know how his family is provided: "For I cannot be of much service to my country and had rather die in trying to go to their relief than stay hear and know as I do that they are left destitute by those who have promised to provide for them".⁴⁶

Patriotism blazed from the letter-heads, and there is much denunciation of Copperheads. One felt that the rich were not doing enough. She was a mother with four children. When her husband left he expected "the county money" which had since been stopped. "Perhaps you might devise some means by which the rich may help support the poor in this time of need. When you think that the most of our soldiers are composed of poor men and they must do the fighting while the rich speculate if you think of this I think you will do Something."⁴⁷ Most of the families were left with a home, and often with some land about it; their need was for food and clothing; the number of children was frequently very large. A mother with a small daughter writes: "My son told me I would be provided for; for means had been provided, to supply every mother who had sent a son, as a volunteer through the term of the war, and every wife who had sent a husband . . . we are very lonely, and being destitute makes us down-hearted. I have a good home, but can't sell at all. If there was business here, so I could have boarders I would not ask assistance."⁴⁸ There was comparatively little complaint as to the amount of aid, but much because the system left many unprovided for. One wrote to know: "Whether my old and infirm parents in Europe, depending on me their sole sustainer, for the necessities of life, can draw those five dollars a month our noble state has granted".⁴⁹ A step-mother needed assistance.⁵⁰ The

⁴³ July 19, 1864.

⁴⁴ December 29, 1862. Many such requests were made for passes in cases of sickness. A receipt to Governor Lewis for "the sum of three dollars from soldiers' relief fund to enable me to visit my sick family at Waukesha", is one of the several evidences that they were occasionally granted.

⁴⁵ March 5, 1863.

⁴⁶ August 5, 1861.

⁴⁷ June 4, 1862.

⁴⁸ May 22, 1861.

⁴⁹ April 26, 1862.

⁵⁰ September 17, 1861.

failure of some of the states to provide for those whose sustainers had entered the regular army or navy, based, of course, upon a sound theory, nevertheless caused real hardship and doubtless contributed to the difficulty of securing recruits for those branches. The refusal of all the states to provide for non-residents in a time and a region where migration was an incident in the lives of so large a proportion of the population, left many without provision. The somewhat numerous cases where the chain of obligation had been interrupted by unsuccessful remarriages, though some may have been deserving, excite less sympathy;⁵¹ marriages after the enlistment of the soldier created a more appealing problem.

Such cases arose without cessation throughout the war, if anything they increased as it went on. Their handling demanded more than efficiency, in fact they demanded great-heartedness rather than efficiency. In such a spirit they seem to have been dealt with. Successive governors not only returned gentle answers which turned away wrath, but, although the blank form letter was in wide use between officials and the army, gave to these applicants personal attention and often accompanied their replies with some pertinent suggestion. In their conduct we see the soil out of which Lincoln's qualities of head and heart grew. There is no evidence of the socialized state, though many things were being done which seem to characterize the socialized state. It was the neighborliness of a big and kindly community, democratic in its ideals and with a general similarity of conditions which produced general understanding of conditions. Historically the broadened conception of the responsibilities of a community at war for those suffering from the war was the product, not of economic theory nor of enlightened intelligence, but of the feeling and appreciation of its own necessities by a people really and inherently democratic.

C. R. FISH.

⁵¹ See interesting letter of October 1, 1862, etc.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE OXFORD MEETING OF 1213

IN the last number of this *Review*¹ Mr. Edward Jenks offers a new explanation of the well-known November summons to a central assembly in 1213, in which he casts doubt upon the force of the enrollment words.

The crux of the interpretation [he says] appears to be in the final words, not of the writ, but of the enrollment. In later times, no doubt, the words, *eodem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus*, would mean that similar writs, with the sole alteration of the address, had been sent to the sheriffs of all the other counties. But can we be sure that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the practice had been firmly settled? In other words, can we be quite sure that the writ of November 7, 1213, to the sheriff of Buckingham did not bid him assemble his knights at Buckingham, that to the sheriff of Bedford, at Bedford, and so on?

In substance, Mr. Jenks believes that county meetings were summoned instead of one central assembly at Oxford.

This would mean that it was the practice of the scribe, when he had a number of writs to enroll—alike in substance, but varying slightly to make them appropriate to the several people or localities to which they were to be sent—to follow the sample writ with the simple *eodem modo scribitur* clause and the list of addressees, and keep no record of the variations which the several writs contained. But can it be thus lightly concluded that, after a decade or more of experience, scribes were keeping a roll which was so far from being a complete and informing record? Why do it at all if important entries were to be treated in so slipshod a manner? One cannot read far in the rolls, however, without becoming convinced that, with but very few exceptions, the *eodem modo* clauses must have meant just what they said. The scribes were evidently expected to be literal and painstaking.² This resulted, naturally, in

¹ Vol. XXII., pp. 87-90.

² Occasionally, to be sure, a case will be found in which the necessary variations are so entirely self-evident from the names and locations of the addressees that the scribe followed the dictates of common sense and refrained from vain repetitions. A good illustration of this is the writ sent to the reeve and bailiffs of Bristol. *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 177-178.

two classes of *eodem modo* clauses: one, like that in the writ under discussion, in which there is no indication of different words in the other writs; the other, almost as numerous, in which, after the *eodem modo scribitur*, record is made, either before or after the names of the addressees, of the one or more variations. Picking up the first volume of the *Close Rolls* which came to hand, that for the years 1231-1234, four of the latter class were found in the first thirty pages.³ And that is probably a fair average. But lest this should be thought to belong to the "later times", examination has been made of the *Close Rolls* for the year 1213 itself, and also for 1212 and 1214. This has revealed at least three *eodem modo* clauses with variations for 1212,⁴ five for 1213,⁵ and five for 1214.⁶ While most of these involved the writing of but few words, nearly all seem necessary to make the enrollment accurate and usable. Many of them, as would naturally be the case, are proper names.

Of course this evidence does not prove that the scribe did his work thoroughly in every individual case; and in the case under consideration there is no outside evidence by which to check him. But it does appear to establish such a rule of care and precision as entirely to invalidate Mr. Jenks's main argument.⁷ Furthermore his suggestion was possible only because the sample writ which the scribe entered on the roll happened to be the one sent to Oxford-

³ Pp. 8, 19, 21, 27. The brevity of some of the variations which the scribe yet troubled himself to record is well illustrated by the last of these: *Eodem modo scribitur vicecomiti Sussex, hoc verbo 'teneri' excepto*.

⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 116 (*bis*), 123. One of these (p. 116) contains merely a change of one place name.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 137 (*bis*), 146, 154.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 162 (*bis*), 166, 202.

⁷ If the scribe, in November, 1213, had had before him a bundle of similar writs of summons designating a variety of meeting-places, he would probably have managed his *eodem modo* clause in somewhat the same way as the scribe in 1235 who had to record the summoning writs, sent through the sheriffs, to the non-feudal abbots and priors of thirty-one counties, and who were to meet at various places and times. *Close Rolls*, 1234-1237, pp. 187-188. The sample writ enrolled was to the sheriff of Oxford and summoned the abbots and priors of that county to Woodstock for a certain day. Then follow these enrollment words: "Eodem modo scribitur vicecomitibus Heref', Glouc', Wigornie, apud Glouc' die Veneris proximo sequente; Dors' et Sumers', apud Bathoniam in festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula; Wilt' et Suht', apud Merleberg' Dominica proximo sequente; Berk' et Buk', apud Rading' in octabis Sancti Petri ad Vincula; In crastino Assumptionis apud Lond', Kancie, Sussex, Midd', Essex' et Hertf', Surr', Norf' et Suff'; Norht', Cantebrigie, Hunt', Bed', et Buk', apud Norhampt', die Martis post festum Sancti Bartholomei; Notingh' et Derb', War' et Leic', Staff' et Salopie, Lincoln', Eboraci, apud Noting' die Dominica in Nativitate Beate Marie." This rather complex enrollment problem seems successfully handled by the scribe, and with no waste of words.

shire, and Oxford was the place set for the meeting. But the scribe did not always choose his sample writ thus. Take the following—also from the year 1213:

Rex Vicecomiti Lond' et Middelsex' etc. Precipimus vobis quod scire faciatis omnibus clericis et viris religiosis de Ballivis vestris qui summoniti fuerunt venire coram nobis apud Norhamt' a die Sancte Trinitatis in XV. dies quod ad diem illum illuc non veniant quia eis ad presens parcimus. Ita quod ibi sint eodem modo in crastino Sancti Petri ad Vincula. Teste me ipso apud Lameh', XV. die Maii. Eodem modo scribitur omnibus Vicecomitibus Anglie.⁸

Here the sample writ is to Middlesex, but the place of meeting was Northampton. The *eodem modo* clause at the end forces the conclusion that some kind of assembly of clergy from all the shires was expected to take place at Northampton. This is but one among other proofs that concentration, on either a large or a small scale, was a well-understood royal device for transacting business at this time. And it is necessary in this connection to point out the error of Mr. Jenks's statement, "that the alleged council at Oxford, if it ever took place in the representative form suggested by Dr. Stubbs, would have been an anticipation, by forty years, of the first representative assembly of which we have actual records". Not by forty years, but by fourteen, if indisputable summoning writs be deemed "actual records", for in 1227, not 1254, was summoned the first representative central assembly.⁹

The next point raised, the shortness of time between the sending of the writs and the day of meeting, constitutes a real difficulty. But it seems to be fairly well met in the discussions and references in Miss Levett's recent article on this same writ.¹⁰ To these, indeed, Mr. Jenks refers; but they do not appear to satisfy him, though he does not elaborate the point.

A further reason for questioning a central-assembly intent in this instance lies in the fact that no record of the meeting is to be found in the chronicles—"it seems somewhat unlikely that a Council, of the novelty assumed, should be passed over in silence by the chroniclers". But contemporaries would not have spelled this council—or perhaps any other—with a capital. Is there in Mr. Jenks's comment here a hint of the old attribution of prophetic insight to the men of the thirteenth century? It is so hard to think that they did not know that Parliament was being made. But the

⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 129-130.

⁹ For a discussion of this and other early cases of concentration, see *American Historical Review*, XIX. 735-750.

¹⁰ *English Historical Review*, XXXI. 85-90.

only thing they saw, if the November meeting were actually held, was concentration at the king's bidding and to do the king's business. And such concentration was not new, even in 1213. No chronicle recorded the central representative assembly of 1227, yet there is no possibility of doubting, in this case, that such an assembly was intended and summoned. And the "novelty" in Simon de Montfort's famous parliament appears to have been mentioned in but one of the many chronicles of that time¹¹—there, incompletely, incorrectly, and as of no special interest, the reason being that the novelty was not great and the potentialities of this and other beginnings unguessed. But even the belief that the 1213 meeting was not held is no good reason for concluding that it was not summoned, especially in that disordered and capricious reign. Has there not been, in fact, a traditional doubt among scholars as to its actual assembling which has carried with it little or no doubt about the summons? A summons, recorded at the time, upon the official roll is a hard thing to get around.

In speaking of the military part of the writ, Mr. Jenks frankly admits at the end of his article that "an army dispersed among thirty-seven different centres is not of much military value". This is very true and seems a sufficient argument, taken by itself, to overthrow his thesis. The suggestion follows that "John may well have hesitated, in view of his quarrel with the barons, to summon the whole feudal force of the country to a single spot". Well and good—then he might have cancelled his summons as he had done before, or not have sent it in the first place. The suggestion does not make it seem any more probable that, because he feared to summon them all to one place, he summoned thirty-seven separate and wholly useless musters. But let it be remembered also that the "whole feudal force" was not to be there *with arms*. The barons were to be there without arms and also the groups of four knights. What body of knights, then, could it have been that was to come armed? In all probability the minor tenants-in-chief; and, if so, the four knights coming for the county *ad loquendum*, etc., were sub-tenants. This is roughly analogous to the well-known summons of 1254, in which the whole body of tenants-in-chief, *cum equis et armis parati*, was to be at London three weeks after Easter, while the two representative knights of each county, who must needs have been sub-tenants, were to be at Westminster two weeks after Easter. What took place, then, in the fall of 1213 would seem to have been this: Some time before November 7 the king had sent to the sheriffs writs order-

¹¹ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 71.

ing a military muster of the minor tenants-in-chief—no unusual thing. This was followed by the supplementary writ under discussion, which summoned for the same date a meeting of the great council (*corpora vero baronum sine armis similiter*), and also four knights from each shire. These last must have been expected to furnish local information, as so often later; or possibly they were to be instructed in some local job. But for many years it had been the custom of small groups of appointed or elected knights to act for the shires in various capacities, and this always at the king's instance; also the device of concentration had been used. Hence for the king to summon four knights from each shire (four was the number in 1227) to meet at one place is no matter of surprise. Indeed there is nothing along this line to explain away. The writ makes good sense (now that Miss Levett has pointed out that knights and not "men" were summoned), and fits in with the known ideas and practices of the time if it be taken just as it stands and its language interpreted in the most natural way.

It is interesting to notice that the king was at Oxford on the day set for this meeting and on the two days following, November 15–17.¹² Was this chance or was there something of special importance happening at Oxford on these days, something more than a county meeting? An examination of John's itinerary throughout the reign shows that Oxford was far from being a favorite stopping place.

ALBERT BEEBE WHITE.

CIPHERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

DURING the Revolutionary period cipher was employed extensively not only in public correspondence where secrecy was especially important but in the private correspondence of public men as well. It is true that most of the letters written in cipher that have come down to us are accompanied by some form of translation, oftenest an interlinear decipherment by the recipient; yet the quantity of writing that has remained undeciphered is in the aggregate considerable. There are, for instance, numerous undeciphered passages in the published writings of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, as well as in letters of theirs that have not been printed.¹

¹² See Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's "Itinerary of King John" prefixed to the *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*.

¹ This note is not to be understood as in any sense a complete exposition of the use of cipher in the Revolutionary period, some of the examples referred to being indeed merely incidents of an investigation which has had, naturally, considerable ramifications.

Of ciphers used in the period under consideration five different types have been encountered: first, a mere transposition of the alphabet; second, a dictionary or book cipher; third, a sentence or longer passage used as a key, the letters being numbered in the order in which they occur; fourth, a columnar table of alphabets built upon a key-word; and, fifth, a collection of words, syllables, and letters more or less arbitrarily arranged and numbered. The transposition of the alphabet, a mere substitution of one letter for another, was not apparently much used.²

The book cipher was employed rather extensively, particularly in the earlier part of the period.³ In its simplest form its use required only the possession, by each of the correspondents, of the same edition of a dictionary. A notable instance of a dictionary cipher is found in the correspondence of Arthur, Richard Henry, and William Lee in the years 1777-1779. As used by them an arabic numeral designates the page, an *a* or a *b* the column, and a roman numeral the line. The book was probably Entick's *New Spelling Dictionary*, edition of 1777.⁴ As no copy of the edition used could be found the process of solution by the present writer consisted in, first, the identification of certain ciphers from the context,⁵ next, locating these words in the edition of 1782 (the nearest to 1777 obtainable), and then, by a process of approximation, determining other words.⁶

Of the third sort of cipher mentioned the principal example come upon is that used by C. W. F. Dumas. It is evidently this code that

² See however the *Letters of William Lee* (ed. Ford), II. 417, 666; also the letter of Jay to Morris mentioned in note 6 below.

³ In a letter of June 3, 1776, to the committee of secret correspondence, Arthur Lee proposed the use of a dictionary for cipher correspondence. (See Force, *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., VI. 686, and Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, II. 95.) The original of the paragraph concerning the cipher, written upon the fly-leaf of a small book and bearing an endorsement by James Lovell, is preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library (Pap. Cont. Cong., no. 83, I. 21).

⁴ Arthur Lee sent a copy of the book to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, in the autumn of 1777. See his letter of November 23, 1777, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 117. In this work the *b* of these ciphers is usually printed as 6. Concerning this and other ciphers used by William Lee, see an editorial note in the *Letters of William Lee*, II. 417, and *passim*.

⁵ There could be no question, for instance, that 115 *b* xxxviii stood for "Deane".

⁶ Instances of a different method of employing a dictionary cipher are found in letters of William Carmichael and John Jay in 1780 and 1781; and in a few letters of Jefferson and Madison in January and February, 1783. In a letter to Robert Morris, November 19, 1780 (*N. Y. Hist. Soc., Collections, Revolutionary Papers*, I. 451), Jay suggests the use of Entick's dictionary paged backwards, to be supplemented by the use of a transposed alphabet.

is found in the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.⁷ The key is a long passage in French running to 682 letters, numbered consecutively. In such a cipher each letter has several numbers corresponding to it, which may be used indifferently.⁸

The fourth form of cipher is made by taking a key-word and constructing columns of alphabets beginning with the letters of the word in the order of their occurrence and numbered from 1 to 26 or 27 (when 27 letters are used the character & follows Z). In writing in this cipher the letters are sought in the columns successively and the corresponding numbers are used. This form of cipher seems to have been introduced by James Lovell when he was a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and was used by him in letters to John Adams, Mrs. Abigail Adams, and others.⁹ Livingston, when he became secretary for foreign affairs, used the same cipher in his first correspondence with Adams,¹⁰ and Jefferson used such a cipher in some earlier correspondence with William Short.¹¹

The most noteworthy series of letters in a cipher of this sort were written by Madison to Edmund Randolph in the summer and autumn of 1782.¹² These letters have never hitherto been deciphered. In fact Randolph himself was never able to decipher them, owing partly, no doubt, to certain errors which Madison made in writing the cipher. Although these errors occasioned some difficulties the solution was accomplished through the successful guessing of the

⁷ Franklin Papers, L (i), 24. There is another cipher code in the same collection of Franklin Papers (LXI. 1), which consists merely of a collection of words alphabetically arranged and numbered.

⁸ A cipher similar to that of Dumas was proposed to Franklin by Barbé Dubourg, June 10, 1776. See Force, *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., VI. 782.

⁹ Letters in which it is used are found in the Adams Manuscripts, June to December, 1781. The key, as suggested by Lovell, was "the first sixth part of that family name where you and I spent our last Evening with your Lady before we sat out on our Journey hither." The key turns out to be "C R". The name was probably Cranch. A letter from Lovell to General Gates, March 1, 1779 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers), uses the key-word "James".

¹⁰ It seems however that Adams did not quite understand the cipher. See Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, V. 73, 192, 459.

¹¹ See *Southern Bivouac*, new series, II. 425. The alphabetical table used by Jefferson, with the key-word "Nicholas", is given, *ibid.*, II. 427.

¹² Some of Madison's letters to Randolph at this time were written in the type of cipher next described, others partly in the one and partly in the other. Randolph himself had suggested that they use "the cypher which we were taught by Mr. Lovell. Let the keyword be the name of the negro boy who used to wait on our common friend Mr. Jas. Madison." In a foot-note to the letter Madison says: "probably *Cupid*". Randolph to Madison, July 5, 1782, Library of Congress, Ac. 1081.

cipher for "commission", from which the alphabetical table was reconstructed.¹³

It was the fifth type of cipher that came to be most generally employed. Such a cipher might consist of only a comparatively few numbers for persons, places, etc., or it might run to hundreds of items. While some ciphers of this type were sent abroad by Charles Thomson and Robert Morris in 1780 and 1781, not many examples of its use have been found prior to the autumn of 1781, when Robert R. Livingston became secretary for foreign affairs, after which individuals of the type were rapidly multiplied both for public and for private use. Livingston had some forms printed, having on one side of the sheet the numbers from 1 to 1700, on the other the alphabetical list of words, syllables, etc. These forms were a convenient basis on which correspondents could prepare their identical codes.¹⁴

The earliest of these numerical codes which the writer has come upon is that used by the Virginia delegates to Congress in 1782 in their official correspondence with the governor. It is not on a printed form and runs to only 846 numbers.¹⁵ Madison and Randolph used this code to a considerable extent in their private correspondence also in that year.¹⁶ The several ciphers used by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe from 1783 on require some explication. In January and February, 1783, Jefferson and Madison used a dictionary cipher.¹⁷ From April, 1783, to May, 1785, they used a numerical cipher, the key to which has not been found. Of some of these letters however there is a decipherment or translation (they are chiefly Madison's), and from these a code has been reconstructed

¹³ Madison's foot-note giving the key (see note 12, above) was found subsequently.

¹⁴ A good many ciphered passages in the diplomatic correspondence of the period remain undeciphered. In particular may be mentioned the letters of Livingston to Jay from November 1, 1781, to April 16, 1782. See Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 716, 814; V. 29, 44, 144, 149, 150, 374, 404. Livingston's letter of April 16, almost wholly in cipher, has not been printed. It is in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Pap. Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I.

¹⁵ The code is found among the Executive Papers in Richmond.

¹⁶ See *ante*, note 12. Beginning with Madison's letter of December 30, 1782, they adopted a new code of the same kind.

¹⁷ Only a limited effort has been made to identify the dictionary used, but by the process of approximation used in the case of the Lee correspondence the undeciphered ciphers may, with at least a high degree of probability, be solved. For instance, in Jefferson's *Writings* (ed. Ford), III. 310, a word is "lacking". The cipher is 369.9 and doubtless means "frivolous".

by which the others have been deciphered.¹⁸ In the same period Monroe used in a few letters to Madison a numerical code of very limited extent, of which most of the ciphers used are interpreted in the texts of the letters. From May, 1785, to May, 1786, however, Madison and Monroe used a cipher for which no code has been found. In this case also it has been possible, by means of such decipherments as exist, to decipher (with the possible exception of occasional words) those letters for which there is no translation. The correspondence of Jefferson and Monroe from May, 1784, to March, 1785, offers some difficulties, but as the codes by which these letters were written are in existence¹⁹ a careful attention to the several explanations of the writers enables one to overcome these difficulties. In the spring of 1785 Jefferson prepared a new and more extensive code on the printed forms referred to above, which was thenceforward used in his correspondence with both Madison and Monroe and in theirs with him.²⁰

One incidental discovery, although somewhat afield from this particular investigation, deserves nevertheless to be recorded here. A short while ago a professor in a western university sent to the Department of Historical Research a body of letters from President Jackson to a diplomatic agent, of the year 1832, written in cipher, and asked whether some means might not be found of deciphering them. The department happened to have a cipher code, constructed on one of the printed forms heretofore referred to, found among the Monroe Papers in the New York Public Library, without date, and merely endorsed: "Mr. Monroe's cypher". It was found upon

¹⁸ In the *Writings* of Jefferson (ed. Ford) some attempts toward decipherment have been made, but with indifferent success. Not to speak of erroneous renderings of ciphers, some mistaken editorial interpretations call for correction. A foot-note to Jefferson's letter to Madison, March 18, 1785 (*Writings*, IV. 35), suggests that the paragraph relates to Patrick Henry. Jefferson is actually speaking of Lafayette. In his letter of August 11, 1793 (VI. 367), he says: "Just as I had finished so far, 812.15 called on me." A foot-note says: "Edmund Randolph". The cipher means, "the President", that is, Washington. In the letter of April 25, 1784 (III. 470) several wrong renderings give quite erroneous suggestions.

¹⁹ In the Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., vol. LVII., fol. 17a, are three codes, one marked "1st cypher", another "2d cypher", and a third endorsed: "Cypher sent in Col. Monroe's lre of April 12, 1785". In fact, the latter is a copy of a cipher sent to Jefferson by Monroe July 20, 1784. At the same place is found the alphabetical part of the "2d cipher".

²⁰ One copy of this code is in the Jefferson Papers, 5th ser., vol. XI., fol. 35, and another in the Monroe Papers, vol. XXII., fol. 2926. See Jefferson to Monroe, March 18, 1785, and to Madison, May 11. Jefferson was still using this cipher with Madison in 1793.

test that the Jackson letters were written in this code. It was further discovered that the same code was used by James A. Bayard when he was one of the commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Ghent. It has since been learned that Monroe used this code in 1805 when he was minister to England. It was evidently therefore an official cipher.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE AND THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1779

IN November, 1779, the office of president of the Board of Trade and Plantations, which had been absorbed in the secretaryship of state for America in July, 1768, was revived, and the close connection which had existed between the Board and the American department for eleven years was destroyed. This was not an illogical step: the American war had destroyed the larger part of the *plantation* business of the Board, and its activities were now centred on *trade*, especially the African trade; the Secretary of State for America, on the other hand, had become primarily a war secretary, directing the British campaign against the rebellious colonists. The reasons, therefore, which had operated to make the Board of Trade an annex to the American department were no longer valid. It is the purpose of this note, however, to show that it was not on grounds of logical organization and efficient administration that the office of First Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantations was re-established.

From the time of the first commission to the Board of Trade in 1696 until July, 1768, the great officers of state were named as members, but were excused from attendance at Board meetings; eight others, not holding any of the principal offices, were also named, and these eight constituted the working Board. The one first named was looked upon as president or First Lord and received a salary larger than that of his seven colleagues. In July, 1768, a new commission was issued in the same form as before, except that (1) a new great office, a secretaryship for America, had been evolved from the secretariat, and the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of state for America since the creation of this new department in January, was named as a member of the Board along with the other principal officers; (2) seven rather than eight men were named as the active Board; (3) the usual clause excusing the principal officers from attendance was not extended to Hillsborough, who was expressly

ordered to attend Board meetings. The president of the Board had been Robert Nugent, later Viscount Clare; it was his name that was left out of the new commission, without, it would appear, due notice having been given him of his official decapitation.¹ Hillsborough thereupon took his seat at the head of the Board July 14, 1768,² and his successors, the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, continued so to act until 1779. That the secretary for America was the official successor of the First Lord and a *bona fide* member of the Board was questioned but once during this period, but the decision was clear and definitive.³

By the summer of 1779 the plan to remove Germain from the Board was well under way, and he had lost, as well, the support of the king. He was, in fact, growing weary of attendance in the House of Commons and wished to obtain a peerage. To North's proposal on this head the king replied that "It would be an endless repetition to state my objections to decorating Lord Geo. Germain with a Peerage; he has not been of use in his department, and nothing but the most meritorious services could have wiped off his former misfortunes."⁴ In spite of this poor opinion of Germain's abilities and in spite of his constant complaint of not being consulted on matters affecting his department, both the king and North were anxious that he should retain the American seals. The immediate cause of his removal from the Board, however, was not concerned with the personal fortunes of Lord George, except in so far as North and the king did not feel it necessary to court his favor. It had to do rather with the problems that beset Mariner North, whose crew was mutinous and whose ship was foundering.

Without obscuring the main point it is not possible, nor is it necessary, to take up the details of the political complexities of the year 1779. Suffice it to say that in the early spring Lord Suffolk, secretary of state for the Southern Department, threatened to resign; the remnant of the Bedford party, headed by Gower, lord president, and Weymouth, secretary of state for the Northern Department, were discontented; Wedderburn, as always, was deep in intrigue.⁵ A new danger arose, in addition, in the person of Lord Carlisle,

¹ Smyth, *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, V. 148, Franklin to Galloway, July 2, 1768.

² Journal, Board of Trade, LXXV., minute under July 14.

³ In a matter of the nominating of clerks. Journal, Board of Trade, LXXXVI. 139.

⁴ Donne, *The Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, II, 256, June 15, 1779.

⁵ On Wedderburn, British Museum, Add. MSS. 37384, f. 74, Robinson to George III., May 11, 1779.

lately returned from America, whither he had gone as one of the three commissioners bearing a sprig of olive to the rebellious colonists. Now out of a job, he was restless, and North was worried lest he declare war on the government.⁶ Carlisle, moreover, was the son-in-law of Gower, and as early as 1775 Gower had promised to use his influence to obtain for Carlisle a place that would be agreeable to him.⁷ This relationship between Gower and Carlisle, which was both personal and political, furnishes the key to our problem.

With the ministry in this unsettled state, the king was naturally anxious and distraught. He deplored the policy of drift pursued by North and unbosomed his discontent to John Robinson, secretary to the treasury, and thus secretary to North, famous for his manipulation of the secret service money in the great cause of parliamentary corruption and control. He especially deplored the fact that North was constantly lacking in civility to Gower, who was to be placated at all costs.⁸ Not only did the king urge Robinson to prevail upon North to modify his attitude toward Gower, he also put the question directly to North and even indicated the method of approach. The resulting action may best be followed in the correspondence of the king, Robinson, North, and Germain.

In April the resignation of Suffolk seemed imminent, and Lord Hillsborough was proposed as his successor; this was acceptable to the king, "but before Lord North arranges this", he wrote to North, "he must somehow see Lord Carlisle is not offended. I fear Lord North's language to him will give rise to this, unless he is somehow satisfied; and the disobliging Lord Gower ought certainly to be avoided. By this I do not mean that Lord Carlisle ought to be Secretary in preference to Lord Hillsborough, but that a[n] office of business of a secondary kind ought to be found for him."⁹

Suffolk's death took place before his resignation, but no immediate step was taken to fill his place, Weymouth taking charge of both the Northern and Southern departments. Hillsborough was still the favored candidate, but Lord North's "frequent changes of opinion . . . stop all business", wrote the king to Robinson.

I told Lord North [he continued] that Lord Gower will certainly resign if Lord Hillsborough gets the Seals unless some provision is

⁶ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 34416, f. 264 and following; correspondence between North and Eden, February 10-14, 1779. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report XV.*, Appendix, part VI., *Carlisle MSS.*, p. 419, North to Carlisle, February 14, 1779.

⁷ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Carlisle MSS.*, p. 303, Gower to Carlisle, November 25, 1775.

⁸ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37284, ff. 93-170 *passim*.

⁹ Donne, *op. cit.*, II. 244, April 6, 1779.

made for Lord Carlisle. Lord North then reverted to separating the First Lord of Trade from the Seals, but Lord George Germain will certainly never consent to that. . . . Lord North, if he will take a decided part, is sure of my support and consequently may easily bring things into tone: but I fear his irresolution is only equalled by a certain vanity of wanting to ape the Prime Minister without any of the requisite qualities; if he will take a clear line and get as vacancies occur the properest men the circumstances will permit and content himself with being acquainted with whatever is going forward and confine himself to the finance branch, he may still be a very useful minister and may gain real reputation, but he must fill up the vacant offices and get the Irish affairs into some trim.¹⁰

The necessity of forming as "strong a system of administration as we can against the ensuing session of Parliament" and of giving "at the same time every satisfaction possible to Lord Gower and his friends"¹¹ moved North to approach Germain, but not before the king had read and modified his letter.¹²

No system can, in my opinion, be firm and desirable [wrote North to Germain] which leaves uneasiness in the minds of any part of the ministry. I believe that Lord Gower has it in mind to introduce Lord Carlisle into public business, and no way of doing it seems to me so proper and convenient as the separation of the Board of Trade from the American Seals, and the appointment of Lord Carlisle to be First Commissioner of Trade.

The successful issue of this business depended on the good will of Germain, "whose emolument, credit, power, or dignity" would in no wise be diminished, while government would be strengthened.¹³ Lord George professed no surprise at this suggestion, knowing that "it had been thought upon many months ago by those who have the honour of being consulted by you". (A nasty fling!) He was willing, however, to submit to His Majesty's pleasure, degrading though it might be, but he would prefer to retire entirely and fully to gratify Lord Gower and Lord Carlisle by allowing Lord Carlisle to have the "Seals with the Board of Trade".¹⁴ This letter was shown to the king, who wrote North:

I would advise that, after mentioning my approbation of Lord George's conduct on this occasion, yet that I differ with him in opinion as its being a degrading of his office; that I look upon it as very differ-

¹⁰ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37384, f. 133, August 13, 1779.

¹¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report IX.*, Appendix, part III., Stopford-Sackville MSS., p. 97, North to Germain, September 10, 1779; also in *Report on the Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts* (1910), II. 138.

¹² Donne, *op. cit.*, II. 282, king to North, September 10, 1779.

¹³ See note 11.

¹⁴ Stopford-Sackville MSS., *loc. cit.*, Germain to North, September 13, 1779.

ent, it placing him in every respect on the same line as the two antient Secretaries, and that it will place Lord Carlisle in an executive office, not one of direction of measures, (in) which it might not have been right to place the signer of the proclamation of last year as far as regards America.¹⁵

North followed this line in a letter to Germain, whereupon Lord George asked only that the king grant him an interview.¹⁶

Negotiations were prolonged for some weeks longer: Sandwich was worried as late as October 16 because North had gone out of town without writing to Carlisle,¹⁷ but on October 19 North sent a letter to Carlisle through Robinson, as well as one to Gower to be sent at Robinson's discretion.¹⁸ By October 27 the affair was settled. "I am glad to find by Lord North's note", wrote the king to Robinson, "that Lord Carlisle has accepted the office of First Lord of Trade." But the underlying reason for his appointment was not forgotten; the king continued, "Am I by the step Lord Carlisle takes to expect any change in the sentiments of Lord Gower?"¹⁹ To make the office more attractive and to win the more active support of Carlisle and Gower, the salary which Carlisle received was double that of previous first lords, £2000 rather than £1000.²⁰ The new commission was dated November 15; it provided once more for eight members other than the great officers, and in the clause excusing the great officers from attendance the secretary for the American Department was included.²¹ The Earl of Carlisle took his seat at the Board on November 17,²² but he was soon made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, being succeeded at the Board by Lord Grant-ham. The separation of the Board from the American department continued until 1782, when both were abolished.

The whole episode is no less instructive than interesting. North and his royal master were grasping at straws which might carry them "well through our [their] embarrassed situation". Policy was subservient to politics, administration to jobbery. The grand strategy underlying the removal of the American secretary from the Board of Trade and the re-establishment of the office of First

¹⁵ Donne, *op. cit.*, II. 283, September 27, 1779.

¹⁶ Stopford-Sackville MSS., *loc. cit.*, p. 98, North to Germain, September 29, 1779; Germain to North, October 1, 1779.

¹⁷ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report X.*, Appendix, part VI., *Abergavenny MSS.*, p. 26, Sandwich to Robinson, October 16, 1779.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27, North to Robinson, October 19, 1779.

¹⁹ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37384, f. 170, king to Robinson, October 27.

²⁰ C. O. 389: 39, p. 137.

²¹ Patent Roll 3777, 20 George III., part 1, mem. 17.

²² Journal, Board of Trade, LXXXVII. 225.

Lord, the object of which was to gain the continuance of Gower's support by giving his son-in-law a lucrative office, failed; Gower would not consent to remain in office and, along with Weymouth, resigned in November. The ministry of Lord North was breaking up: this was but a prelude to his own resignation and to the failure of personal royal government.

ARTHUR HERBERT BASYE.

DOCUMENTS

The Senate Debate on the Breckinridge Bill for the Government of Louisiana, 1804

Soon after the ratification of the treaty by which Louisiana was acquired from France, steps were taken to provide a government for that territory. The request of Jefferson that Congress make "such temporary provisions for the preservation, in the meanwhile, of order and tranquillity in the country, as the case may require",¹ led to the passage of a bill, which became law October 31, 1803, placing the administration of the territory, until further action by Congress, in the hands of the President.

This was recognized to be a temporary measure. On December 30, 1803, Breckinridge, from a committee appointed to draw up a scheme for the territorial government of Louisiana, reported the bill which bears his name. By this bill the territory was divided into two parts, that north of the thirty-third parallel to be called "Louisiana", and connected, for purposes of government, with the Territory of Indiana. The name "Territory of Orleans" was applied to the southern area. For this region the bill provided a governor, appointed by the President for a term of three years; a secretary, similarly appointed, for four years; and a legislative council of thirteen members, appointed annually by the President. The governor was given power to convene and prorogue the council at will. The judicial officers were to be appointed by the President for a term of four years. The right of trial by jury was granted in capital cases in criminal prosecutions; and in all cases, criminal and civil, in the superior court, if either party required it. The slave-trade was restricted to slaves from states of the Union, carried into the territory by American citizens going there to settle, and being at the time *bona fide* owners of such slaves. Slaves imported from abroad, and those imported since May 1, 1798, were barred.²

Discussing the Breckinridge Bill, Henry Adams says, "The debate which followed its introduction into the Senate was not reported. . . . Few gaps in the parliamentary history of the Union left

¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I. 363.

² Act approved March 26, 1804. *Statutes at Large*, II. 283.

so serious a want as was caused by the failure to report the Senate debate on this bill; but the report of the House debate partly supplied the loss, for the bill became there a target for attack from every quarter.”³

This statement has been generally accepted. A rather full report of this debate does however exist, although up to this time it has not appeared in print. It is to be found in a private journal kept by Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire. On May 2, 1805, Plumer wrote:

At the last two sessions of Congress I noted several facts as they occurred, and stated my opinion on several subjects. Should I attend another session I intend to pursue the same course. It will be a mean of preserving facts and opinions, which with the changes and revolution of time and parties are rapidly hasting to oblivion. . . . I write not for posterity—not for others but for myself only. I write in much haste—the facts are correct—but not the style.

The resolution here made was carried out and a record of events from May 2, 1805, to April 21, 1807, followed. The first volume of Plumer’s manuscript journal is called: “Memorandum of the proceedings of Congress, Particularly of the Senate, from October 17, 1803, to March 27, 1804.” It and the later one mentioned above are in the Library of Congress; it was acquired in the year 1912–1913. According to Plumer’s own statement, there was another for the session of Congress from November, 1804, to March, 1805. This was found in the State Library of New Hampshire, thus completing the record of the four sessions of the Senate from October, 1803, to April, 1807.

The first of these volumes contains the report of the debate in the Senate on the Breckinridge Bill. Curiously enough, when this bill was part of the day’s procedure in the Senate, Plumer reported little else. There are a few days on which he does not mention the Louisiana affair, but, in the main, the principal points were well covered. This was particularly true of the question of allowing the Territory of Orleans a delegate in Congress, and of the importation of slaves into that territory. What Plumer himself thought of these matters must be gleaned from the record of the ayes and noes, and from occasional letters, for he rarely took part in debates of any sort.

The newspapers of the day contain little information of the debate in the Senate on the Breckinridge Bill. One exception must be

³ *History of the United States*, II. 122–123. See also F. A. Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 571, and C. M. Geer, *The Louisiana Purchase*, p. 242.

made. In the *Aurora* of January 27, 1804, is a rather extended summary, sent from Washington, of the debate of January 23. This is all the more important as Plumer has no mention of the Louisiana discussion in his entry of that date. A careful search through the files of other leading newspapers failed to discover any more such reports.⁴

William Plumer, junior, in his *Life of William Plumer* does not discuss this particular debate. One short quotation from a speech of Senator Hillhouse, delivered January 26, is found (p. 284). With regard to the Senate debates in general, the younger Plumer's attitude is that they "belong to the history of the country rather than of the individual, and are therefore not mentioned here".⁵

Seemingly the only known extensive record of the important Senate debate on the bill providing for the government of the newly acquired territory, Plumer's journal is a valuable one. Only the entries which have a direct bearing on this question are here given. The first entry is for January 16, the last February 18, when the bill passed the Senate.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

1804, Monday, Jany. 16th.

The bill erecting Louisiana into two territories.

*Mr. Worthington.*⁶ Moved to amend the 4th section so as that the Legislative Council should be authorized to elect a delegate to Congress with the right to debate but not vote.⁷

*Mr. Brackenridge.*⁸ I approve of the motion—it will be the means of conveying useful knowledge to Congress.

*Mr. Saml. Smith.*⁹ This is going as far as we can at present to satisfy the third article of the treaty.¹⁰ This will be placing that country

⁴ This statement does not refer to editorial comment on the text of the bill as passed, of which much was written; for example, see the *Boston Repertory*, March 6, 1804, a copy appearing in the *Massachusetts Spy*, Wednesday, March 14, 1804. The *Aurora* report is printed after Plumer's.

⁵ Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, pp. 338–339.

⁶ Thomas Worthington, senator from Ohio.

⁷ The fourth section of the bill was that providing as to the appointment and powers of the legislative council. It is quoted in the *Journal* of the Senate for this day (III. 340 of the reprint of 1821). It is in almost every particular identical with the fourth section of the act as finally passed. The act made no provision for a territorial delegate.

⁸ John Breckinridge, senator from Kentucky.

⁹ Samuel Smith, senator from Maryland.

¹⁰ The third article of the Louisiana Treaty provided that the inhabitants of the ceded territory should be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of the privileges of citizenship, and that in the meantime they should be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

on the same footing as the other territorial governments¹¹—and from this delegate we shall derive much information.

*Mr. Dayton.*¹² I am opposed. The legislative Council itself will be better able by their memorials to represent the actual state and wants of that country than their agent.

*Mr. Jn. Smith.*¹³ I think the amendment is necessary and important.

*Mr. Pickering.*¹⁴ No man will undertake to say, Louisiana is incorporated into the Union, it is therefore absurd to admit a delegate from that country to debate in our national councils. That is a purchased province, and as such we must govern it.

*Mr. White.*¹⁵ I cannot consider that territory as a part of the Union. The legislative council are to be created by the President, and shall they be vested with the power of choosing a delegate to Congress, and who will in fact be the representative of the President. 'Tis wrong.

*Mr. Jackson.*¹⁶ I am opposed to the motion. The people of that country ought not to be represented in Congress. It is too soon.

*Mr. Anderson.*¹⁷ If this amendment does not obtain, I must vote agt. the section. What, tax that people without their being represented!

Mr. Worthington. What danger can arise from this measure—the delegate can only debate not vote.

*Mr. Bradley.*¹⁸ This delegate will be the representative of your President not of that people. I am surprised to find an advocate for such doctrine. Is the Executive to be represented in the other House? If he can have one delegate to represent him, why not fifty?

Mr. Dayton. The motion is unconstitutional. The constitution has provided only for the representation of States, and no man will pretend that Louisiana is a State. It is true by the confederation¹⁹ provision was made for delegates from territories—and our constitution has provided that *all contracts and engagements entered into before its adoption shall be valid* (Art. 6th) but no man will have the hardihood to say that Louisiana was included in that engagement.

*Mr. Adams.*²⁰ I was pleased with this motion—but the objections arising from the Constitution, and from the Delegate's being the representative of the Executive and not of that people—compels me *reluctantly* to decide against it.

*Mr. Cocke.*²¹ Gentlemen confound things—this man will not be a representative but a delegate. The government of Louisiana has been compared to other territorial governments, as Mississippi—but this is

¹¹ At this time there was statutory provision for delegates from the Mississippi and Indiana territories.

¹² Jonathan Dayton, senator from New Jersey.

¹³ John Smith, senator from Ohio.

¹⁴ Timothy Pickering, senator from Massachusetts.

¹⁵ Samuel White, senator from Delaware.

¹⁶ James Jackson, senator from Georgia.

¹⁷ Joseph Anderson, senator from Tennessee.

¹⁸ Stephen R. Bradley, senator from Vermont.

¹⁹ Rather, by the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, sect. 12.

²⁰ John Quincy Adams, senator from Massachusetts. Some account of the proceedings and debates upon this bill will be found in his *Memoirs*, I. 290–295.

²¹ William Cocke, senator from Tennessee.

wrong. This is an original system, founded on new principles—it is unlike anything in Heaven, in earth or under it—we must therefore reason from itself and not compare it with others—for myself I admire it. What part of the Constitution shall we violate by this amendment—none. This delegate will not be a constitutional representative, the objection therefore is not solid. I know *that* people are ignorant, but ignorant people will always elect learned and wise men to represent them, they know the necessity of it. I love and venerate these people—they *live in the west*.

Mr. Brackenridge. This amendment is no infringement of the constitution. This officer will not be a representative, for he cannot vote—he will be a delegate, and can only deliberate. He will have no legislative power.

Mr. S. Smith. There is nothing in the constitution that precludes the senate from admitting delegates on this floor from the old territories and what is there that can restrain us from admitting Louisiana to send a delegate to the other House? There can be no danger that the delegate will mislead or impose upon the House.

The motion failed yeas 12 nays 18.

1804; Tuesday, Jany. 17th.

The motion to extend the trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions in that territory²² was lost yeas 11, nays 16.

1804, Tuesday, 24th. Jany.

The bill for the government of Louisiana.

Mr. Jackson. The inhabitants of Louisiana are not citizens of the United States—they are now in a state of probation. They are too ignorant to elect a legislature²³—they would consider jurors as a curse to them.

*Mr. McClay.*²⁴ Those people are men and capable of happiness—they ought to elect a legislature and have jurors.

Mr. Saml Smith. Those people are absolutely incapable of governing themselves, of electing their rulers or appointing jurors. As soon as they are capable and fit to enjoy liberty and a free government I shall be for giving it to them.

Mr. Cocke. The people of that country are free—let them have liberty and a free government. This bill I hope will not pass—it is tyrannical.

*Mr. Nicholas.*²⁵ I approve of the bill as it is. I am opposed to giving them the rights of election, or the power of having jurors. We ought not yet to give that people *self-government*. As soon as it is necessary I will give my assent to that Country's being admitted as a state into the Union.

Mr. Anderson. Several gentlemen of the Senate, I am sorry to say it, appear to have no regard for the third article of the treaty—they

²² The bill provided for trial by jury "in all cases which are capital"; the motion was to strike out the words "which are capital". *Journal*, III. 343-344.

²³ The amendment under discussion provided for popular election of the legislative council.

²⁴ Samuel Maclay, senator from Pennsylvania.

²⁵ William Cary Nicholas, senator from Virginia.

seem opposed to freedom. This bill has not a single feature of our government in it—it is a system of tyranny, destructive of elective rights. We are bound by treaty, and must give that people, a free elective government.

Mr. Pickering. That people are incapable of performing the duties or enjoying the blessings of a free government. They are too ignorant to elect suitable men.

*Mr. Jackson.*²⁶ Slaves must be admitted into that territory, it cannot be cultivated without them.

Mr. Brackenridge. I am against slavery. I hope the time is not far distant when not a slave will exist in this Union. I fear our slaves in the south will produce another St. Domingo.

*Mr. Franklin.*²⁷ I am wholly opposed to slavery.

Mr. Dayton. Slavery must be tolerated, it must be established in that country, or it can never be inhabited. White people cannot cultivate it—your men cannot bear the burning sun and the damp dews of that country—I have traversed a large portion of it. If you permit slaves to go there only from your States, you will soon find there the very worst species of slaves. The slave holders in the United States will collect and send into that country their slaves of the worst description.

Mr. John Smith. I know that country. I have spent considerable time there—white men can cultivate it. And if you introduce slaves from foreign Countries into that territory, they will soon become so numerous as to endanger the government and ruin that country. I wish slaves may be admitted there from the United States. I wish our negroes were scattered more equally, not only through the United States, but through our territories—that their power might be lost. I can never too much admire the deep policy of New England in excluding slavery. I thank god we have no slaves in Ohio.

Mr. Franklin. Slavery is in every respect an evil to the States in the south and in the west, it will, I fear, soon become a dreadful one—negro insurrections have already been frequent—they are alarming. Look in the laws of Virginia and North Carolina made for the purpose of guarding against and suppressing these rebellions, and you will learn our dangers.²⁸

1804, Wednesday, Jany. 25.

*Bill for the government of Louisiana.
Question relative to slavery.*

Mr. Bradley. I am in favor of extending slavery to that country, because it is a right they claim, and by the treaty we are bound to grant

²⁶ Comparison of the original bill, amendments, and amended bills preserved in the Senate files shows that the Senate at this point began the consideration of an amendment which extended to the new territory the act of February 28, 1803, forbidding importation of slaves into states which prohibited their importation.

²⁷ Jesse Franklin, senator from North Carolina.

²⁸ Here Senator Plumer gives a summary of a letter of Governor Claiborne, describing conditions in New Orleans, which the Senate at this point received from President Jefferson, covered by his brief message of this date, given in the *Journal* and in Richardson, I, 367.

it to them—but I think that in this bill we had better say nothing on that subject.

*Mr. Hillhouse.*²⁹ Negroes are rapidly encreasing in this country—there encrease for the ten years ending with the last census was near two hundred thousand. I consider slavery as a serious evil, and wish to check it wherever I have authority. Will not your slaves, even in the southern states, in case of a war, endanger the peace and security of those states? Encrease the number of slaves in Louisiana, they will in due time rebel—their numbers in the district of Orleans, are now equal to the whites³⁰—why add fuel to this tinder box, which when it takes fire will assuredly extend to some of your states. Why encrease the evil at a distant part of your territory—which must necessarily require a standing army to protect it? If that country cannot be cultivated without slaves, it will instead of being a paradise prove a curse to this country, particularly to some of the states in its vicinity.

Mr. Bradley. I am in favor of establishing a form of a general, not particular, government—we ought not to descend to particulars. We are incompetent to that—they are too distant from us, and we are ignorant of their wants, their habits and manners. Congress is an improper body to make municipal laws—we have abundant proof of this in our legislation for this district in which we sit—our laws here are very imperfect and insufficient.

Mr. Adams. Slavery in a moral sense is an evil; but as connected with commerce it has important uses. The regulations offered to prevent slavery are insufficient, I shall therefore vote against them.

Mr. Dayton. I do not wonder at the sentiments of the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse), for he has been opposed to every thing that relates to Louisiana—he appears to me to wish to render this bill as bad as possible; but I am surprised that gentlemen who are friendly to that country, wish to prohibit slavery—it will barr the cultivation and improvement of that extensive territory. The lives of white people are shorter there than in any of our states, and the labour of slaves more necessary. An elective government and trial by jury would be a curse to that people; but slavery is essential to their existence.

Mr. Hillhouse. I do not understand the doctrine nor censures of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Dayton). The constitution is by him winked out of sight—that admits of a republican government and no other. We must apply the constitution to that people in all cases or in none. We must consider that country as being within the Union or without it—there is no alternative. I think myself they are not a part or parcel of the United States.

Mr. John Smith. I have traversed many of the settlements in that country. I know that white men labour there—they are capable of cultivating it. Slaves ought not to be permitted to set their feet there. Introduce slaves there, and they will rebel. That country is full of swamps—negroes can retire to them after they have slain their masters. This was in fact the case not eighteen years since—they rose, slew

²⁹ James Hillhouse, senator from Connecticut.

³⁰ Hillhouse probably meant the district consisting of the island of New Orleans with its immediate dependencies. In that case the numbers, according to the statistics which had been furnished by Jefferson (*American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 384), were, 25,000 whites, 25,000 blacks.

many, and fled to the morasses.³¹ Will you encrease there number, and lay the necessary foundation for the horrors of another St. Domingo? If slaves are admitted there, I fear, we shall have cause to lament the acquisition of that country—it will prove a curse.

Mr. Jackson. The treaty forbids this regulation. It will depreciate your lands there fifty pr cent. I am a Rice-planter—my negroes tend three acres each pr man—I never work them hard, they finish their stint by one or two oClock, and then make three shillings pr diem to themselves. I know that a white man cannot cultivate three acres of rice, and yet Georgia is not so warm as Louisiana. You cannot prevent slavery—neither laws moral or human can do it. Men will be governed by their interest, not the law. We must keep the third article of the treaty always in view.

Mr. Anderson. On the ground of the interest of the western states, the admission of slaves into Louisiana ought to be opposed—it will prove a curse to us. By the constitution slavery is criminal. All the States, except South Carolina, have passed laws against the importation of Slaves.³²

Mr. White. I think it unfortunate that whenever this question is stirred, feelings should be excited that are calculated to lead us astray. I have entertained the hope that Congress would on all occasions avail themselves of every mean in their power to prevent this disgraceful traffick in *human flesh*. There is nothing in the treaty that guarantees to the people of that Country the *power*, I will not say *right*, of holding slaves. 'Tis our duty to prevent, as far as possible, the horrid evil of slavery—and thereby avoid the fate of St. Domingo. Nothing but the interposition of Heaven, an unusual thunder-storm, prevented the slaves, only two years since, from destroying Richmond in Virginia.³³ That, and other states are obliged annually to make many severe and expensive provisions to protect and guard the lives of the masters and their families against the violence of the slaves.

It is said that Louisiana cannot be cultivated by *white men*. May not this proceed from the very circumstance of their having slaves. Let white men be accustomed to the culture of that country, and they will, I believe, find they are able to bear the fatigue of it. We may by use, by long habit, be brought to bear heat and fatigue as well as blacks. We boast of liberty and yet in the very bosom of our Country, establish slavery by law. Examine the state of this Union. In the Eastern states where slavery is not suffered, their lands are highly cultivated—their buildings neat, useful and elegant—and the people are strong, powerful and wealthy. But as you travel south, the instant you arrive to where slavery is, you find the lands uncultivated, the building decaying and falling into ruins and the people poor, weak and feeble. This is not the effect of climate—for our southern climates are more favorable than the eastern and the northern.

Mr. Bradley. I am opposed to slavery in the eastern states; but the

³¹ Possibly the reference is to the abortive attempt at insurrection in Pointe Coupée parish in 1795, *eight* years before.

³² By successive enactments, from 1787 to 1803, South Carolina had, like the other states, forbidden the importation of slaves, but these laws had just been repealed, December 17, 1803, and the trade reopened.

³³ The reference is to Gabriel's Insurrection, September, 1800.

resolution under consideration admits the principle of slavery, and therefore I shall vote against it.

Mr. White. I shall vote for it not because I wholly approve of it, but because I think it as favorable toward people of colour as any thing we can now obtain.

Mr. Saml Smith. I am at a loss to know why the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) has so often considered and declared himself as the exclusive advocate for constitutional rights. I am against this motion. The people of that country wish for African slaves, and we ought to let them have a supply—we have a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in that country, but I doubt as to the policy of it—I shall vote against the motion. We are bound to provide for the support of the clergy of that country.

Mr. Hillhouse. The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Bradley) is opposed to slavery. To prove his opposition he declares he will vote against this resolution, which is designed to limit slavery to those who are in the country—and if he prevails in his opposition, the consequence will be that the people of Louisiana will have the liberty of importing slaves not only from the United States, *but also directly from Africa.* If that country cannot be cultivated without slaves, let slaves hold it—or let it remain a wilderness forever. Those are the real friends of liberty who extend it to others, as well as to themselves.

*Mr. Israel Smith.*³⁴ The provision proposed, is insufficient—it will rather encrease than prevent slavery. I am opposed to slavery but as Congress cannot prohibit it effectually till 1808—and as there are many slaves in Louisiana I think the change proposed will be too sudden—that it will operate as an encouragement to South Carolina to import slaves.³⁵ I am therefore opposed to doing anything upon the subject at the present.

No vote taken on the subject.

1804, Thursday, Jany. 26.

Government of Louisiana—Slavery.

Mr. Hillhouse. I have been accused of being unfriendly to this territory—and of having made the motion now under discussion not from a regard to that country or its inhabitants but to embarrass the measures of government. I was opposed to the ratification of the treaty, but as that is past, I am bound to act in relation to that country upon such principles as to me appear correct and calculated to promote the general interest of the Nation. And I hope I shall never find it necessary to adduce evidence to prove the sincerity of my disposition or the truth of my declaration. It has been said on this floor that I am an *Eastern-man*. I am so, but *while* I am the representative of a State which is *yet* a member of the *Union*, I hope I shall have as much influence as if I was a *southern man*. I did not expect *so soon* to hear on this floor the distinction of *eastern and northern, and southern, men*. Has it indeed come to this—are we to be designated by a *geographical* line!

The question was on the following motion, to wit.

“That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons, to import or

³⁴ Israel Smith, senator from Vermont.

³⁵ See note 32 above.

bring into the said territory, from any port or place without the limits of the United States, or to cause or procure to be so imported or brought, or knowingly to aid or assist in so importing or bringing, any slave or slaves; and every person so offending and being thereof convicted, before any court within the said territory, having competent jurisdiction, shall forfeit and pay, for each and every slave, so imported or brought the sum of dollars, one moiety for the use of the United States, and the other moiety, for the use of the person or persons who shall sue for the same; and every slave so imported or brought, shall thereupon become entitled to and receive his or her freedom."

Note, This amendment was presented by Mr. Hillhouse.³⁶

Mr. Jackson. Slavery must be established in that country or it must be abandoned. Without the aid of slaves neither coffee or cotton can be raised. My interest is to prevent slavery in that country, because that will prevent its settlement, and thereby raise the value of estates in Georgia—but my duty is in this opposed to my interest, and that of my State.

I think it would be for the real interest of the United States to have an end to slavery in this country; but we cannot get rid of them.

I am against the prohibition—let those people judge for themselves—the treaty is obligatory upon us.

I dislike the traffic in human flesh—but we must decide not on the morality but policy of the case.

The present time is an improper time to prohibit the importation of slaves into that country—our government is not yet established there.

Slaves in America are generally well fed clothed and taken care of—our interest obliges us to do it—they live better than if they were free—they are incapable of liberty.

Mr. Dayton. These very debates will encrease the *hopes* of slaves. You are about to prohibit African slaves from that country—and to admit the worst of slaves—such as the southern planters wish to sell:—I say admit slaves for slaves must cultivate Louisiana—white people cannot subsist there without them.

The faith of the nation, is by the treaty, pledged to that people, that their rights shall be secured to them—one of their rights is slavery.

It is of importance that we should raise our own sugar—that we can do if we have slaves.

Mr. Bradley. The prohibiting slaves in that territory from Africa, and admitting them from the States, will encrease, not lessen, slavery. Each State can till 1808 import slaves from Africa, and by this law the slave states may send their vicious slaves to Louisiana.

Mr. Brackenridge. I have no hesitation in saying, That the treaty does not in the smallest degree authorize that people to hold slaves—much less does it pledge the faith of the Union to support this unjust, unnatural traffic. When I look at the Census, I am alarmed at the encrease of slaves in the southern states. I consider slavery as an evil—and am for confining it within as small a compass as possible.

Mr. Bradley. I am against slavery—but this provision is insufficient, and I shall vote against it. If the States holding slaves, require it, I will go as far as they wish in abolishing slavery, for I am an enemy to

³⁶ This amendment of Hillhouse, preserved in manuscript in the Senate files, is that which appears in the printed *Journal*, III. 345.

it. But that time is not yet come—the public mind is not ready for it—and I think we had now better do nothing upon the subject.

Mr. Samuel Smith. I am sorry this proposition is brought before the Senate—I am against slavery—but I shall vote against this proposition—and I fear it will thereby appear that I am in favor of slavery. Yet let it be remembered, that although I am a slave holder, I declare I disapprove of slavery.

Mr. Franklin. My wish is to prohibit slaves altogether from that country, except those carried thither by actual settlers from the United States—but I despair of obtaining such a vote in Senate—I will vote for such a prohibition as I can obtain.

I have no objection to sending a frigate to Charlestown to prevent the landing of slaves from Africa imported by South Carolina—and *frittering those nefarious traders to pieces.*

Mr. Jackson. Gentlemen from the north and the east do not know that *white men* cannot indure the heat of a vertical sun—they cannot cultivate and raise a crop of rice—negroes are necessary for that country. It is as impossible to prevent the importation of them into that country as to move the sun into the moon. Human power and invention cannot prevent it. Within less than a year 10,000 slaves have against law been imported into South Carolina and Georgia.³⁷ 'Tis in vain to make laws upon this subject. Slaves directly from Africa are preferable to those who have been long in this country or even to those born here. I am sorry that the constitution of Georgia prohibits slavery.³⁸

Mr. Pickering. When this subject was first brought up I was favorably inclined to the admission of slavery in that territory—but the discussion has convinced me that it will be bad policy indeed to admit slaves there—that it will entail upon their posterity a burthen they will be unable to bear or remove—and that slaves are unnecessary there—white people can cultivate it. I therefore approve of the resolution.

Mr. Bradley. This resolution supports slavery. I shall therefore vote against it, although it is bro't forward by those who wish to destroy slavery. The Constitution of Vermont declares all men free—I have sworn to support it, and I will.

Mr. Israel Smith. I am opposed to this resolution, because it will not prevent slavery—I am opposed to slavery; but I think no law can prevent or destroy it—the law will be useless and therefore I shall vote against it. If a law was made to prohibit the use of cyder in New England, where it is now used in every family, could you carry it into effect. This is the case of slaves in that country. We cannot till 1808 pass any effectual law against slavery. South Carolina has opened its ports for the importation of slaves from Africa, and this she has a *right* to do.

The people of Louisiana ought not to be subject to much change in government, laws, or habits at present. They are not yet bound to us

³⁷ See the statements of Lowndes of South Carolina and Mitchell of New York in the House debate of February 14, 1804. *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 992, 1000.

³⁸ The constitution of Georgia, 1798, art. IV., sect. 11, prohibited, not slavery, but the future importation of slaves into that state from Africa or any foreign place.

by any ties. This resolution will estrange them from us—it will oppress them. It cannot be carried into effect. It will give encouragement to the States in 1808 to resist any laws that we may then constitutionally make to abolish slavery. I therefore hope we shall *now* do nothing relative to slavery.

Mr. Samuel Smith. I wish I could prevent the taking of the yeas and nays when the Senate are sitting in Committee of the whole—I dislike it—it is absurd.³⁹

Mr. Jackson. It is now more than half past three P.M. and I move for an adjournment. Refused. He then said, It is unfair for a majority thus to press the subject.

The question was then taken on the amendment (page 316.)⁴⁰ and prevailed, yeas 21 nays 6.

Mr. Bradley. As tomorrow is to be a day of festivity on account of the acquisition of Louisiana,⁴¹ I move that the Senate adjourn to Monday next.

Negatived.

After the Senate was adjourned, he said, with great passion that he would not on the morrow either attend the Senate or the feast. He kept his word.

1804, Monday, Jany. 30.

Mr. Hillhouse moved the following amendment, to the Louisiana bill.

“That no male person bro’t into said territory of Louisiana, from any part of the United States, or territories thereof, or from any province or colony in America belonging to any foreign prince or state, after the day of next, ought or can be holden by law to serve for more than the term of one year, any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice, after he attains the age of 21 years; nor female in like manner, after she attains the age of 18 years, unless they are bound by their own voluntary act, after they arrive to such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, or costs. *Provided*, that no person held to service or labor in either of the States or territories aforesaid, under the laws thereof, escaping into said territory of Louisiana, shall by anything contained herein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up in the manner prescribed by law.”⁴²

Mr. Hillhouse. I am in favor of excluding slavery from that Country altogether. Every slave increases the necessity of a standing army. Every slave weakens the power of the militia. The distance from the States encreases the necessity of excluding slavery there.

Mr. Bradley, made a few observations in support of the amendment. It was rejected yeas 11, nays 17.

Mr. Hillhouse then offered the following amendment,

“That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons, to import or bring into the said territory, from any port or place within the limits of the United States, or cause to, or procure to be so imported or bro’t, or knowingly to aid or assist in so importing or bringing, any slave or

³⁹ See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I. 292–293.

⁴⁰ Of the manuscript. Hillhouse’s amendment, see note 36.

⁴¹ J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I. 293.

⁴² *Journal*, III. 346–347.

slaves, which shall have been imported, since the day into any port or place within the limits of the United States, from any port or place without the limits of the United States; and every person so offending and being thereof convicted, before any court within the said territory, having competent jurisdiction, shall forfeit and pay for each and every such slave, so imported or bro't, the sum of dollars: one moiety for the use of the person or persons who shall sue for the same."⁴³

Mr. Hillhouse, observed this was but a part of the system necessary to be adopted.

Mr. Dayton. South Carolina has now a constitutional right to import slaves from Africa—she is in the exercise of that right—and this amendment impairs it.

Mr. Hillhouse. It does, and justly.

Mr. Jackson. It is unfortunate that we have slaves; but having them we cannot with safety or policy free them. A very few *free negroes* in Louisiana would revolutionize that country. In Georgia we prohibit men from manumitting their slaves⁴⁴—one free negro is more dangerous where there are slaves than a 100 slaves. I will join to *export* all the slaves.

Mr. Hillhouse. I believe slavery is a real evil; but I am sensible we must extinguish it by degrees. It will not do to attempt to manumit all the slaves at once. Such a measure would be attended with serious evils. These slaves are men—they have the passions and feelings of men. And I believe if we were slaves, we should not be more docile, more submissive, or virtuous than the negroes are.

Mr. Nicholas. Free men of *colour* have a very ill effect upon slaves—they do much more mischief than strangers conceive of.

Mr. Adams. The general complaint against gentlemen from the eastern States has been that they have discovered too much opposition to slavery. I am opposed to slavery; but I have in this bill voted against the provisions introduced to prohibit and lessen it. I have done this upon two principles, 1. That I am opposed to legislating at all for that country. 2. I think we are proceeding with too much haste on such an important question.

Mr. Bradley. I abhor slavery. I am opposed to it in every shape. *He that steals a man and sells him ought to die.*⁴⁵ I will on every occasion vote against slavery. I am very sorry the question is *now* called up. I have done every thing I could to prevent it—but since gentlemen, (and many of them from Slave States) will stir the question, I am prepared and will on all occasions vote against slavery.

The amendment was adopted, yeas 21. nays 7.

1804, Tuesday, Jany. 31.

Bill relating to Louisiana.

Motion to strike out the following words, from the amendment to the bill.

⁴³ The amendment presented at this time by Hillhouse (*Journal*, III. 347) embraces both this text and that which appears at the beginning of the next day's proceedings in this record, and of p. 353.

⁴⁴ A Georgia act of 1801 made manumission illegal unless accomplished by act of the legislature. Cobb, *Digest*, p. 983.

⁴⁵ Exodus xxi. 16.

"And no slave or slaves shall directly or indirectly be introduced into said territory, except by a person or persons removing into said territory for actual settlement, and being at the same time of such removal *bona fide* owner of such slave or slaves; and every slave imported or bro't into the said territory, contrary to the provisions of this act, shall thereupon be entitled to, and receive his or her freedom."⁴⁶

Mr. Bradley. I am opposed to this paragraph, because it admits the doctrine of slavery to be just—it is like a law regulating theft or any other crime, I shall therefore vote to expunge it. I really consider slavery as a moral evil—as a violation of the laws of God—of nature—of Vermont.

Mr. Nicholas. The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Bradley) has surprised me by his extraordinary conduct—for several days he spoke and voted with his friends who advocated slavery—but yesterday and today he has avowed other sentiments and changed his vote. He is now become vociferous for emancipation. Is he apprehensive the restriction will prevail. Is he afraid of finding his name on the journal against the vote. Why this unaccountable change?

Mr. Bradley. I have not changed my sentiments. I was unwilling to have the question stirred. I was desirous of shutting my eyes against the subject—but since I am compelled to act, I will vote in favor of liberty.

Mr. Jackson. If this law with these amendments passes you destroy that country—you render it useless—you will excite alarms in the mind of Frenchmen—you will render a standing army necessary. I again say that country cannot be cultivated without slaves—it never will.

Mr. John Smith. I am willing to admit slaves into that country from the U. S., because slaves are already there, but I am unwilling to admit them from Africa. You cannot prevent slaves going there from the United States. I know this is an evil, but it is an evil they will have.

Mr. Saml Smith. When the prohibition of slavery was first introduced into this bill I was much alarmed. I foresaw it would take up time—that it would create alarm and even endanger the peace and security of these States holding slaves—especially when the subject is debated in the other House—and those debates published in Newspapers. God knows that I am not friendly to slavery, although I own slaves and live in a state where slavery is established by law. I am unwilling to think much less to speak on this subject. This bill if passed into a law cannot be carried into effect—the people of that country will not submit to it. It will render a standing army necessary. In the year 1808 we may then effectually legislate on the subject—the constitution will then admit of it, and our navy will then enable us to carry it into effect. American slaves carried to Louisiana will prove adders that will sting that people to the heart. The report of your debate in this Senate on this subject will reach that country in twelve days, and I fear will produce a rebellion—our troops there are few and feeble, and will be unable to prevent it.

Mr. John Smith. If the slaves now in the southern States continue to encrease in 20 or 30 years those States will be compelled to call on the eastern and western states to aid them against their rebellious slaves.

⁴⁶ See note 43 above. The motion also provided a substitute with slight modifications. *Journal*, I. 348.

Mr. Franklin. We cannot wink this subject out of sight—if we leave it, it will follow us. We must make laws against slavery, unless we mean to aid the destruction of our southern States, by laying the foundation for another St. Domingo. Slavery is a dreadful evil—we feel it in North Carolina—we can emancipate. I am for restraining foreign importation, but to proceed no further.

Mr. Brackenridge. We can make laws to prevent slaves, and we can carry those laws into effect—if we cannot do this our power is too feeble to govern this nation. We must not despair—we must act. We are legislating for a great country—for an important section of the nation. In doing this I will not for a moment attend to its immediate effects, whether it will lessen or encrease sugar, or other articles. No Sir, I extend my views to posterity. It is of importance that our first acts of Legislation should be correct. Can it be right to extend and foister slavery into that country?

I think it good policy to permit slaves to be sent there from the United States. This will disperse and weaken that race—and free the southern states from a part of its black population, and of its danger. If you do not permit slaves from the United States to go there, you will thereby prohibit men of wealth from the southern States going to settle in that country.

It has been said by the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Bradley) *that liberty cannot exist with slavery.* This is not correct—it exists in these states who have slaves. Our constitution recognizes *slavery*—it does more—it expressly *protects it.*

Mr. Nicholas. One State only, South Carolina, can now import Slaves—and that is a *right* derived not from Congress, but from the constitution—it is a mere temporary right. The people of Louisiana cannot therefore complain of partiality in Congress because we deny them the liberty of importing foreign slaves. It is no more than what we long since denied to the Mississippi and Ohio territories. We are now making a form of government for Louisiana, not establishing a common and ordinary law. I am for prohibiting the people of that country from importing slaves from foreign countries, and leave it *optional* with the government of Louisiana, when they have one, to prohibit it from the United States also, if they should think best.

Mr. Adams. I do not like either of the amendments that have been offered, but if I must vote for either it will be to retain the word moved to be struck out. If I must vote it will be in favor of liberty. The Constitution does not recognize *slavery*—it contains no such *word*—a great circumlocution of words is used merely to avoid the term *slaves.*

*Mr. Venable.*⁴⁷ I know the constitution does not contain the *word* slave—but it admits the *thing* and protects it—and Congress have uniformly acted accordingly.

The question for striking out was lost, yeas 13, nays 15.*

* It is obvious that the zeal displayed by the Senators from the Slave States, to prohibit the foreign importation of Slaves into Louisiana, proceeds from the motive to raise the price of their own slaves in the market—and to encrease the means of dispersing of those who are most turbulent and dangerous to them.

⁴⁷ Abraham B. Venable, senator from Virginia.

1804, Wednesday, Feby. 1.

Bill for the government of Louisiana.

It was moved by *Mr. Hillhouse* to amend it by adding the following,—
“And no slave or slaves shall directly or indirectly be introduced into the said territory, except by *a citizen of the United States*,⁴⁸ removing into said territory, for actual settlement, and being at the time of such removal *bona fide* owner of such slave or slaves; and every slave imported or brought into the said territory, contrary to the provisions of this act, shall thereupon be entitled to, and receive his or her freedom.”

Mr. Jackson. I move to postpone the further consideration of this amendment to September.

Mr. Hillhouse. This being an amendment to a bill it cannot be postponed unless the bill is postponed with it.

*The President.*⁴⁹ The motion is not in order—it cannot be recd.

*Mr. Wright.*⁵⁰ The owners of land in that country who do not live there ought to have liberty of sending their slaves to cultivate their own land but not to sell their slaves there.

It is wrong to reproach us with the *immorality of slavery*—that is a crime we must answer at the bar of God—we ought not therefore to answer it here—for it would be unjust that we should be punished twice for the same offence.

I am against admitting *foreign slaves*, because the State of Maryland has declared it *wrong*.⁵¹

Mr. Jackson. This amendment does not authorize foreigners who may go to settle in that country to carry their slaves with them, I am therefore on this ground opposed to the amendment. The great object we should have in view should be the settlement of that country. Our interest is to admit Englishmen there as soon and as fast as possible.

Mr. Hillhouse. I hope foreigners will not be permitted to settle in that distant country. It is seldom, that any but the *worst* of men leave their own to settle in a foreign country.

Mr. Jackson. I am not afraid of such evils. The *friends of liberty only will come*—let us encourage the settlement of that country as much as possible. It is dangerous to exclude foreigners. The very best of men will flee from Europe—for liberty exists only in this country. Bad men are afraid to come here—they are encouraged to stay at home. I trust the present Congress are not apprehensive of having too many Jacobins in this country. The government and the Congress were five years ago afraid of Jacobins—I hope we are not like them.

Mr. Pickering. I am very willing that foreigners should be admitted to settle in that country—for I believe before we purchased that we had territory in the United States sufficient for *us* and *our* posterity to the thousandth generation. I am willing that in Louisiana oppressed humanity should find an assylum, and that the patriots of no country

⁴⁸ The words which Plumer has underlined are the new matter, substituted for “person or persons”, as is shown by the amendments in the Senate files, as well as by the *Journal*.

⁴⁹ On January 23, Vice-President Burr being absent on account of illness, Senator John Brown of Kentucky had been chosen president of the Senate *pro tempore*.

⁵⁰ Robert Wright, senator from Maryland.

⁵¹ Maryland act of 1796, c. 67.

should there find a country in which no restraints should be imposed upon them.

It was then moved to strike out of the amendment the words *citizen of the United States* and insert *person*.

The motion was lost yeas 13 nays 14.⁵²

The question was then carried on the amendment, yeas 18, nays 11.

Mr. Jackson. If you establish a regular government there, you will destroy the western States, by the strong inducements you will hold out to people to settle Louisiana. The cession will prove a curse—why invite people to settle it now—it is too soon—50 or 100 years hence will be soon enough. By exposing these immense tracts of uncultivated lands to sale you will encourage bribery. I was offered half a million of acres to hold my tongue in the Georgia speculation. I had *virtue* to resist the temptation.⁵³

The settlement of Louisiana will destroy the value of our lands. It will effect what I very much deprecate, a *seperation* of this Union.

How great, how powerful, was Spain before she acquired South America. Her wealth has debased and enervated her strength. If you establish a regular government in Louisiana, that will be settled—you cannot then prevent it—and if settled, such is the enterprizing spirit and avaricious disposition of Americans that they will then soon conquer South America, and the rich mines of that country will prove our ruin. A military government ought to be established in upper Louisiana—that would prevent settlement. I would pay those Americans who are now there for their lands if they would quit them.

Mr. Cocke. I am glad Georgia has one uncorrupt man, and I rejoice that he is a senator. I trust we have many such in the nation. I am ready to vote. The debate on this bill has been so long that I have already lost the benefit of much of it, for I have really forgotten it. I can throw no new light. I call for the question. We must give that people a rational government.

Mr. Worthington. The government contemplated by this bill is a military despotism, and I am surprised that it finds an advocate in this enlightened Senate. The gentleman from Georgia (*Mr. Jackson*) talks of a *seperation*—Sir, the *western states* will not *seperate* unless the *eastern States* by their conduct render it absolutely *necessary*.

1804, Thursday, Feby. 2nd.

*Government of Louisiana. Motion to strike out the 8th section of the bill.*⁵⁴

Mr. Hillhouse. I am against the establishment of an arbitrary government in that country. It has been said it is best to establish such a government in that country as will prevent its settlement. I wish gentle-

⁵² This motion does not appear in the *Journal*.

⁵³ In 1796 Jackson was the leader of the "Anti-Yazoo Party" in the Georgia house of representatives, having resigned his seat in the United States Senate in order to conduct the contest.

⁵⁴ The eighth section of the original bill, with slight modifications, is quoted in the *Journal*, III. 349. It relates to the government of the portion of the Louisiana cession north of the territory of Orleans, and provides for rule by a governor having the executive and judicial powers ("paramount powers" in the original bill) exercised by the former governors of the province.

men to consider, that by the treaty the rights of the inhabitants of that country are guaranteed to them. Look at documents now on your tables, by them it appears that much of those vacant or uncultivated lands are granted to Spaniards. And you must give to them such a government as they can live under, or you will not protect them in the enjoyment of their rights as you have by your treaty stipulated. You must give that people a practical government—not like our own, for they are unacquainted with it—a military government would be too arbitrary. I would not give them a trial by jury, because they are not used to it—but I would give them the liberty of having trials by jury whenever they are able to express their desire of it by their own legis[la]ture and to make laws regulating that mode of trial.

Mr. John Smith. The establishment of a military government is at war with the third article of the treaty—with the letter and spirit of your constitution—which knows no other government than that of republicanism. That country is now ours—and it will be utterly impossible, by any law you can pass, to prevent people from emigrating to and settling in that country. Reference is frequently made to the documents that the President has sent us respecting that country. Those documents are incorrect. I know of three large settlements in that country that are not even named in these papers. We know but little of that Country.

Mr. Cocke. Give that country a Jury. I know we can prevent its settlement. I would not give them a *good* government. I prefer a *bad* one to a good one *for them*—because a bad one will make them contented, they have been used to it. The only way to govern that country safely is to govern it justly. Let them have their old laws and ancient customs, except a trial by jury and that they *should have*. Too much wisdom is painful—it conjures up too many evils. I fear we are too wise to do good. Our way is plain, it is the old way—but I am really afraid we are fond of projects—novelties. Our fears are chimerical. We should be bold and resolute. Tell that people you shall have justice, but you shall obey the laws. I have taken up much of your time, but coming from the westward, I have frequently been urged to tell my opinion—no arbitrary—no military government will do—we must give them a free government. We talk too much of the ignorance of that people they know more than what you think they do—they are not so plagay ignorant.

Mr. Jackson. Rome flourished while she confined herself within proper bounds—but she extended her limits too far—when she gratified her insatiable thirst for lands—the northern hordes overwhelmed and destroyed her. I fear this will be our case in the *south*. I never wish to see our people go beyond the Mississippi. We ought not to give them such a government as will afford them protection in their settlements. If you permit the settlement of that country, you will depreciate the value of your public lands and destroy the western states. I know the President approves of this eight[h] section.

Mr. Anderson. This 8th. section is a military despotism—its unconstitutional—its opposed to the spirit and genius of our constitution. The only power we have to legislate for that country is derived from the constitution—and we must give them a republican government—we can give them no other.

There never existed on earth a free Republican Government untill the

present government of the United States.

This section establishes the former laws and government of Spain in that Country—and what those are we know not.

I know the settlement of Louisiana will materially injure Tennessee—it will injure all the western states—still we must give them a constitutional government. I am for preventing the settlement of that country by law, and I think our laws may be executed.

There is now about 8000 inhabitants in upper Louisiana—more than two thirds of them are Americans—most of them have emigrated from Virginia. They understand and will demand their rights.

If the President of the United States now approves of this 8th section—and should it be adopted, I will venture to say he will soon have cause to repent of it.

Mr. Dayton. I ask the gentleman (Mr. Anderson) where, and in what part of the Constitution does he find any authority to legislate for that Country. The constitution gives us no authority on the subject. We derive our power and right from the nature of government. That Country is a purchased territory and we may govern it as a conquered one.

A military government is the best and the only government you can prudently and safely establish in Upper Louisiana. A strong efficient government is essential. I hope we shall prevent the settlement of Upper Louisiana, not only for the present, but forever. If that country is settled, the people will separate from us—they will form a new empire—and become our enemies.

I believe we may induce the Indians on this side to remove to the other side of the Mississippi—and this will be a great and useful thing to us.⁵⁵

This section of the bill is important and will I hope be retained.

Mr. Wright. I am in favor of the section. The constitution requires that the governments of States should be republican, but not so of territorial governments. The Territorial governments in this Country are not, or is it necessary they should be, republican—none of them have the power to elect representatives. To extend the trial by jury to that country would be a denial of Justice—they live too remote from each other to derive any benefit from it.

Mr. Samuel Smith. This 8th section embraces a country in which there are settlements 800 miles distant from each other. A governor and three Judges cannot regulate their affairs. This section of the bill is in principle republican—we ourselves are their Legislators and the Commandants are only our agents.

Mr. Pickering. I think we are in an error in applying the Constitution to that country—it does not extend there. But we are bound by the treaty to extend protection to the people of that country, and secure to them their rights and privileges. We must consider and govern them as a colony.

Laws will never be sufficient to prevent the settlement of that country. If people find their interest in settling it, your prohibitions will prove unavailing.

⁵⁵ See Miss Abel in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1906, I. 241–249. Sect. 9 of the original bill in Breckinridge's manuscript provides for exchange of land by Indian tribes.

Mr. Brackenridge. I do not feel any constitutional difficulty as to the form of government. I am for giving them such a system as to me appears best. The provisions contained in this 8th section are arbitrary. There is no legislative authority given to that people. I am opposed to the section.

Mr. Nicholas. I am glad the section gives no legislative authority—that country needs none. I am inimical to change. Do as little for that people as possible. Let them have and enjoy their old laws and customs.

Mr. Wright. I would have such a despotic government in the territory of Upper Louisiana as should absolutely prevent people from settling it. I would remove those who are now settled there, if I could—but at all events I would let no more go there.

Mr. Cocke. I will always give a good government when I can. I will not do evil merely because I have the power of doing so. The question.

The question was then taken and the 8th section was struck out—yeas 16. nays 9.

*See Journal of Senate p. 174.*⁵⁶

1804, Friday, Feby. 3d.

*The bill for the government of Louisiana under consideration.*⁵⁷

Mr. Jackson. I have high authority for saying it is the intention of our government to take effectual measures to induce all the Indians on this side of the Mississippi to exchange their lands for lands in upper Louisiana.⁵⁸ I think it a prudent and practicable measure—and that is one reason why I wish to prevent the establishment of a civil government in that territory. In the name of God have we not land enough for a settlement without this! I would buy up the title of those who have already gone there. The Indians would have gone there before this had not the Spaniards have prevented them. The Indian wars have cost us millions of dollars—and much blood. They are bad dangerous neighbors. There are already many Indians there—if you establish a civil government—if you permit settlers—you will find the expense of that government immense—it will render the purchase a curse.

Mr. Worthington. The Indiana Territory is as good soil and situation as Upper Louisiana. There has been settlers in the former for 100 years, and a civil government established for sometime—that government has not encreased settlers—and in *all* the Indiana Territory there are not now more 7000 souls.

Mr. Nicholas. I hope the Upper Louisiana will not for many, very many years, be admitted as a State or States—New Orleans, perhaps must soon be admitted as such.

Mr. Jackson. I move to annex Upper Louisiana to the Indiana Territory.

Mr. Brackenridge. I have little objections to this.

⁵⁶ Page 174 of the original edition; p. 349 of vol. III. of the reprint of 1821.

⁵⁷ Debate was apparently on an amendment not mentioned in the *Journal* but preserved in manuscript in the Senate files, giving Upper Louisiana a territorial government of the simplest form, with its own governor, secretary, and judges, and with legislative power vested in the governor and judges. This amendment is endorsed "Breckinridge".

⁵⁸ For Jefferson's course in this matter see Miss Abel, *loc. cit.*

Mr. Hillhouse. The government, laws, customs, manners and habits of the two countries are in direct opposition to each other. The regulations of the one cannot be established in the other. You cannot immediately effect such a change.

Mr. Saml Smith. I approve of the measure. It will lessen the number of offices and of course expence. I know it will estop slavery there, and to that I agree.

Mr. Wright. This is a new proposition, but I am in favor of it—it will lessen expence. I would unite the two territories governmentally but not territorially.

Mr. Hillhouse. Both of those Countries have separte *rights*, and by this regulation you will impair them both. The ordinance establishing the Indiana Territory created certain rights which are vested in the inhabitants of that territory. The people in Louisiana have their *rights* and we have by treaty guaranteed to them the enjoyment of those rights. If these territories are united who will legislate for them—must they be governed by different laws. This union will make one of the territories a mere colony to the other.

Mr. Wright. They must be governed by different laws.

Mr. John Smith. I cannot wholly approve of the motion. I think there is weight in the argument of the gentleman from Connecticut (*Mr. Hillhouse*). But I will accord with the majority. I should be better pleased if a part of Upper Louisiana was annexed to the Mississippi Territory.

Mr. Venable. I approve of the principle, but wish it modified. It is not yet settled that Louisiana is a part of the United States. I would not therefore annex the two territories together; but I would extend the authority of the government of the Indiana territory to the territory of Upper Louisiana.

1804, Tuesday, Feby. 7th

The bill for the government of Louisiana.

The debate on this bill was principally confined to the question whether people of *colour* should be necessarily disqualified and excluded from serving on juries. Excluded. Democrats in general voted in favor of exclusion.

1804, Wednesday, Feby. 8th.

Same Bill.

The amendment to annex the upper Territory of Louisiana to Indiana, was withdrawn. Mr. Nicholas offered an amendment authorizing the officers of the Indiana Territory to govern the Upper District of Louisiana—and establishing the existing laws of Louisiana in that district.⁵⁹ Adopted. Act as amended ordered to be printed.

The democratic senators held a Caucus last evening in which they settled the principles of the bill—and agreed to the same in the Senate without any debate.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ This amendment, in manuscript, is in the Senate files, and also appears in the bill as amended (and in the statute) as sect. 12.

⁶⁰ Some amendments offered on subsequent days appear in the *Journal*, but Plumer records no debates respecting them.

1804, Thursday, Feby. 16.

Louisiana bill. Salaries to the officers.

Governor Orleans

Mr. Jackson, Mr. Dayton	} reasoned in favor of \$8000 pr annum—7 only voted for it.
Mr. Saml Smith and Mr. Logan ⁶¹	

Mr. Brackenridge and John Smith for \$6000. 12 voted for it.

Mr. Olcott,⁶² Franklin and Cocke for \$5000. 18 voted for it—
carried.

The salary to the Secretary	\$2000
Three Judges each	2000
District Judge	2000
Attorney	600
Marshall	200

The members of the Legislative Council each to have four dollars
pr diem while attending the Council.

In the course of this debate, Jackson and Samuel Smith observed
“That the people must be governed more by pomp, parade and shew
than by reason—that splendid retinue and armed men are more con-
vincing than arguments.

1804, Friday, Feby. 17.

Louisiana bill.

*Mr. Stone.*⁶³ There are near 900,000 slaves in the U. S. and they
are worth \$200,000,000. Slaves are property. The rights of property
are by the Constitution guaranteed and why should the holders of this
kind of property be prohibited from sending and selling their slaves in
Louisiana?

Mr. McClay. That country was purchased to serve as an *outlet* for
the U S.—to admit slaves there will defeat that object.

Mr. Jackson. It has been proposed to prohibit South Carolina from
sending slaves into Louisiana, because she imports slaves from Africa.
She has a right to do it. If you pass this prohibition you will offend
that State—and I will venture to say very serious consequences will
follow. I will speak plain—offend her and she will reject the amend-
ment to the Constitution—and if she rejects it, it will never be ratified.

Some people laugh at the provision that the bill contains authorizing
the President to make an exchange of lands in Louisiana with the
Indians for their lands on this side of the Mississippi. Let me tell such,
That this is a favorite measure of the President's—he has assured me
so. He has, this week, informed me that sixteen of the Cherokee Chiefs
have already agreed to pass over to Louisiana and relinquish their lands
on this side of the Mississippi.

⁶¹ George Logan, senator from Pennsylvania.

⁶² Simeon Olcott, senator from New Hampshire.

⁶³ David Stone, senator from North Carolina.

1804, Saturday, Feby. 18th.

Bill for the government of Louisiana.

Mr. Adams. This bill is to establish a form of government for the extensive country of Louisiana. I have from the beginning been opposed to it—and I still am. It is forming a government for that people without their consent and against their will.

All power in a republican government is derived from the *people*. We sit here under their authority.

The people of that country have given no power or authority to us to legislate for them. The people of the United States could give us none, because they had none themselves. The treaty has given us none, for they were not parties to it—it was made without their knowledge. To pass this bill is an encroachment on their rights—its a commencement of assumed power—its establishing a precedent for after Congresses destructive of the essential principles of genuine liberty.

The first territorial ordinance under the Confederation was made by the then Congress without any legal authority—but the Constitution afterwards sanctioned it.

This bill contains arbitrary principles—principles repugnant to our Constitution. The legislative Council are to be appointed by the Governor, who is a creature of the President's—not elected by the people.

The judges are to legislate—make laws and expound them—this is of the essence of tyranny.

In the other territorial governments, even in the departure from liberty, there is a reverence for it—for it provides that when its inhabitants are increased to a certain number they shall elect a representative.

This bill provides that the officers shall be appointed by the President *alone* in the recess of the Senate—why this departure from the Constitution.

The Judicial officers are to be appointed for a term of years only, and yet the bill is not limited. The constitutional tenure for judicial officers is *during good behavior*.

The first thing Congress ought to have done in relation to that Country, should have been to propose an amendment to the Constitution, to the several States to authorize Congress to receive that Country into the Union—we ought to have applied to the inhabitants of Louisiana to recognize our right to govern them. This we ought to have done, and there is no doubt that the States and that territory would have given the authority before the next session.

The 3d article of the treaty pledges the faith of the Nation to the inhabitants of that country that we will protect their persons, religion property and rights; but we have taken no measures to ascertain there numbers, religion or rights.

We have not the necessary information to pass a law containing the great fundamental principles of government. We know little of that people or Country. In thus passing this bill we commit an act of practical tyranny.

The bill contains incongruous articles—establishment of courts—juries—numerous laws—prohibition of slavery etc. This is a Colonial system of government. It is the first the United States have established. It is a bad precedent—the U. S. in time will have many colonies—precedents are therefore important.

The governor's appointing and proroguing the Council is an act of tyranny.

Tis too soon to extend the trial by jury to that Country. There are serious inconveniences attending this mode of trial—and those people have not laws, customs or habits to correct those evils. Extending juries to them in their present condition, will, I fear, excite opposition to the institution itself. There present mode of trial is *summary*—no jury—a single judge decides. Trial by jury and delay are synonymous—by introducing it you establish new principles. What is meant by *vicinage* in that country? In law books it has a definite and precise meaning—it is confined to a County. There you have no Counties. Is it to extend thro' the whole country. Will it not give too much power to the judge—and will it not be burthensome and even oppressive to compel people from distant parts of that extended world (for such I may call it) to attend Courts of law as grand and petit jurors! The District court is to sit once in three months, and the Supreme Court once every month—the call for jurors will therefore be frequent.

The governor and judges of the Indiana territory are to govern Louisiana—will they not govern it in an arbitrary manner—will they not consider it as a colony to them?

The bill passed yeas 20 nays 5.

Aurora, Friday, Jany 27, 1804.

From Washington

Jan. 23, 1804

The senate were this day engaged on the bill concerning the Louisiana government, upon which there had been considerable discussion before I arrived. The principal points of contention appear to be how much of the operative part of our political institutions they can carry into direct effect—and the mode by which the whole of their spirit and principles may be most effectually introduced. I heard general S. Smith, Mr. Venable, general Jackson, Mr. Maclay, Mr. Franklin, and Mr. Breckenridge only—and as I have not heard the whole I shall give you merely a hasty sketch of the immediate course and scope of the debate.

The discussion was upon a motion to strike out a part of what related to the legislative council—which it was urged ought to be chosen in the first instance by the governor from the most fit and respectable settlers of the different parts of the country, who should be capable of giving information as to its state, interests, wants, and capacities; that the governor having a power to dissolve them at discretion would be a check upon factious dispositions; and being chosen annually by the governor who has to be responsible for the choice, no injury could arise; and information could be acquired of the state of things so as to introduce the representative element of our government gradually and progressively. It was urged that this mode was in the first instance necessary and expedient, as well from our want of full information as to the local dispositions of the Louisianians, as from the actual state of their minds from their long subjection to a mode of government so very different from our own; that if elections were to be made in the present state of things, as large districts are composed of persons who know nothing of our language much less of our institutions, some

Spanish, some French, a number of persons might be so chosen as would be from want of our language and information in our principles of government incapable of proceeding upon legislation and government.

On the other side it was contended that the districts of Louisiana in all parts possessed capable and well informed men, and many Americans, that these and the Acadians who had migrated to Louisiana from Nova Scotia were an intelligent people, and well acquainted with principles of government and law somewhat resembling our own; that the French could not be supposed ignorant or indifferent to subjects of civil liberty which so much agitated them in all parts of the world for several years, and that even the Spaniards themselves could not be supposed so barbarous as not to know the difference between liberty and despotism.

It was further contended on the same side, that, admitting the people of Louisiana to be next to a state of nature, it was not consistent with the 3d article of the treaty which possessed us of that country to let them remain so, having guaranteed to them in due time equal rights and laws with ourselves; that this was the first step to effect that extension of civil and political liberty to them; and that to withhold it would only be to perpetuate their ignorance. That ignorance is the great source of human enslavement, and that to remove that ignorance from a people you can never begin too soon; because even the experience of errors in their first efforts produces the best kind of knowledge that of experience; and that it was better they should begin to acquire this knowledge while few and young, than when numerous, and when their errors arising from ignorance might be more extensive and dangerous.—That we best understood what is fit and what will be good or acceptable in the eyes of others by placing ourselves in their situation and that if we were in their situation now we should hardly complain or object to the conduct of those who should proffer to us the same means of happiness, freedom and prosperity which had rendered our benefactors the admiration of mankind.

These were the leading points of arguments.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Nationalism, War, and Society: a Study of Nationalism and its Concomitant, War, in their Relation to Civilization; and of the Fundamentals and the Progress of the Opposition to War. By EDWARD KREHBIEL, Ph.D., Professor of Modern History in Leland Stanford Junior University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxxv, 276.)

PROFESSOR KREHBIEL'S book is as "timely" as it is original in plan and method. Norman Angell in his vigorous introduction to the volume is surely right in regarding the present moment as "auspicious", not only for the full and frank discussion of warfare and the warrior-state in all their bearings—biological, sociological, and historical; but also for studying the lessons of the present conflict as it proceeds and preparing for the solution of the inevitable problems which will arise at its close.

The author has delivered his message in the form of a reference syllabus. The result is a unique demonstration of the advantages of the analytical method of discussion. It is not a mere outline of headings and subheadings. On the contrary, the analysis is so thoroughly logical and so full where expansion is needed that a readable and lucid text has been produced. The argument grips the attention and sticks in the memory. In small space is handled a many-sided subject, which under conventional literary treatment might well fill a bulky volume. Moreover, without direct use of dates or epochs, the unfoldment of the subject in its various phases is such as in reality to constitute an historical treatment.

The work has thirty chapters or topics grouped in three parts. The first part in twelve chapters considers Nationalism, its Character, Fallacies, and Faults. The subject of the first chapter is Nationalism; and here as in some other places typical writers are permitted to speak for themselves. "The Great War has resulted in attempts to distinguish between German, British and American conceptions of sovereignty." Thus "Germany is said to regard sovereignty as absolute, and seeks to make the facts tally with this conception: a sovereign state admits no obligations to other states"; while "Great Britain is said to regard absolute sovereignty as a theory only, which must be and is modified to meet the practical requirements of international intercourse: each state

must recognize certain rights of others in the present condition of things, no matter what the theory of sovereignty is". Accordingly by current philosophy—American, German, or British—the nation is accepted as the "best and highest development". Bernhardt's dictum that the state alone "gives the individual the highest degree of life", is balanced by Roosevelt's assertion that "we must bring to the solution of every problem an intense and fervid Americanism", or Mahan's fear that the elimination of competition among nationalities would destroy European civilization, it "having lost the fighting energy which heretofore has been inherent in its composition".

The following chapters of this part—all rich in suggestions for the study of topics of vital present interest—deal with the Corollaries of Nationalism; the Case for Nationalism and the War System; the Faults of Nationalism and the War System; the Great Illusion; the Armed Peace and its Fruits; the Economic Consequences of War; Public Debts; War and Sociology; War and Biology; War and the State; Political Aspects of War and Militarism; Nationalism and Morals.

"Modern Political and Social Changes and their Reaction on National Rivalry" is the theme of the second part. In three short chapters are considered the Rôle of Force, involving progress from force through law to justice and peace; the Change in the Institution of Warfare; and Modern Communication and Internationalism.

Interest culminates in the elaborate analysis of the "Progressive Forces which seek to overcome the Faults of Nationalism and establish an Order of Things in Agreement with the Evolution of Society", constituting the third part. In its fifteen chapters Professor Krehbiel has clearly revealed the evolution of the peace movement as an essential element in the general process of human socialization. First he takes up the Fundamentals of the Opposition to War; Deductive or Idealist Pacifism, to 1789 and since 1789; and Inductive or Practical Pacifism, that is, International Political Engineering. Then come six chapters dealing with Peace through Diplomacy: Nationalism Retained; followed by five chapters completing the text and devoted to Peace through Co-operation: Nationalism Abandoned.

This work is the best aid for understanding the complex problems of war and peace, militarism and pacifism, which has yet appeared. Clearly it is the result of much reading and careful thought. It is provided with many full and well-chosen reference lists; and it would serve admirably as a manual for an extended course of study.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Rest Days: a Study in Early Law and Morality. By HUTTON WEBSTER, Ph.D., Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Nebraska. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 325.)

THIS book is an important contribution to the history of culture. It is a scholarly work, covering a very large field with remarkable care and

thoroughness and presenting a mass of data in the simplest form. The field it covers lies in that rich borderland between anthropology and history in which may be found the clues to many difficult problems in both subjects, but where one works with two tools of analysis—the comparative and the historical—one is doubly liable to fail. Recently we have been warned against attempting any such correlation in our research. Anthropologists, like Professor Boas, who show that institutions or beliefs *may* have arisen in any of a half-dozen different ways, point to the fallacies of Spencer or Frazer or the risky theories of a Durkheim to discourage synthetic attempts at generalizing about primitive culture. Historians on the other hand, aware of the fact that the institutions or beliefs *have* arisen in some or one of these ways, have concentrated upon the local data and so failed to benefit from a consideration of the subject as a whole. Such mutual suspicion or aloofness is bringing loss to both, and a book like this shows how serious that loss really is. For Professor Webster handles both anthropological and historical data with equal competence.

At first glance one might think that the old Spencerian fallacy dominated plan and substance; that there was nothing but a mass of anthropological citations or references dealing with isolated instances of local customs, in which the context was lost sight of, or omitted, so that the items could fit more easily into a prearranged scheme. This impression is due to the extraordinary scope of the survey, which is a practically all-inclusive statement of the celebration of taboo or market days by peoples of low culture the world over, as well as in antiquity. But further examination shows not only a discriminating sense in the choice of courses but a scholarly self-restraint in their use. Moreover the subject is one in which the comparative method has fewer perils than in the analysis of more complex institutions. The facts as to what days are sacred and under what circumstances they are so regarded are not difficult to establish. It is rather in the historical aspects of the problem that the difficulty lies. How did the calendar, as we know it, grow out of these early sacred days? Here the astrology and astronomy of Egypt and Babylon must be taken up, and the story of the diffusion of the Semitic time-reckoning is an extremely obscure one. Professor Webster furnishes an admirable guide to the best scholarship on this subject, avoiding the pitfalls of Pan-Babylonianism, and proceeds to elaborate the theory of the week as a tally of the moon's phases, thus accounting for the emphasis on the number seven as loosely making one-fourth of the month. If this is so, would one expect to find a seven-day cycle that cuts through the lunar cycle and with brave indifference makes a career for itself? Is it not possible that there is more in the luck of numbers themselves than is indicated here? And yet the absence of reference to the week as such in early Babylonian texts lends color to Professor Webster's theory.

The book is arranged so as to have the astronomical chapters follow

those on more variable data. The earlier part is therefore more distinctively anthropological. The first chapter takes up the tabooed days at critical epochs and offers a fund of material on what is also the very basis of religion. In the second chapter death ceremonies are dealt with, and related practices. The next chapter is devoted to holy days of a somewhat miscellaneous character, and the fourth deals with market days. Then follow four chapters on the lunar superstitions and the growth of the calendar. Chapter IX. again reverts to unlucky days; and general results are summed up in the conclusion. There seems to be room for some betterment in this arrangement, by interchanging chapters IV. and IX. This would have brought the lucky and unlucky days together and caused the book to conclude with the economic data.

The bearing of such a work upon history proper is not clear at first sight; for chronology has been but little studied by historians outside of those specializing in archaeology. This indifference was the case in antiquity as well, where historians were content to talk of the past in terms of "generations" and to leave such instruments of precision as the canon of Ptolemy for Alexandrian astronomers. And yet the measurement of Time is more than the description of the pattern upon which history is written, it is a statement of Time itself. This very weakness in chronology was responsible for the weakness of antique historiography. Surely it is of interest to historians to have the pattern itself deciphered in order to see things as the old masters saw them! In any case it is a matter of importance to offer the philosophic mind some new data as to the conditions under which the social memory could at last become historical, through the mathematics of religion and of economic routine.

J. T. SHOTWELL.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. By ALBERT T. CLAY. [Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1915. Pp. ix, 108, lv plates.)

WHEN the late J. Pierpont Morgan established in Yale University the William M. Laffan professorship of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature, he endowed it with a sum sufficient not only to pay the incumbent's salary but with a surplus of annual income to be used in the purchase of antiquities for the making of a museum—a characteristic exhibition of business judgment applied to the furtherance of science. To this chair the trustees invited Professor Albert T. Clay, then of the University of Pennsylvania, and already known as the best copyist of cuneiform in America, who displayed in his new post a business acumen little to be expected among scholars. By purchase only, and without costly exploration or excavation, Professor Clay has

brought together in New Haven a small collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities in which are happily associated museum pieces of great beauty and unpublished original texts of the highest importance. The first installment of these is now made accessible in a volume sumptuously executed and "published from the fund given to the University in memory of Mary Stevens Hammond". The texts are autographed in Clay's beautiful hand, not "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" as were those which he made, under editorial direction, when publishing the tablets of the University of Pennsylvania, yet not so broad, open, and striking as in the work of King at the British Museum.

The collection now published is rich beyond all the hopes of those who may not have seen the originals in New Haven. It represents literature of almost every kind from the rudest archaic of the most remote period to a building inscription of the Seleucid era, dated in the month of Nisan of the 68th year of Seleucus II. (244 B. C.). Here are texts of shadowy personalities like Galu-shagga and Libit Ishtar and of historic personages such as Hammurapi, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus. There are votive texts belonging to the religious category as also fragments concerning the Babylonian Sabbath; legal documents such as a very important piece of the Sumerian prototype of the Hammurapi code; property plans and building texts, and all are in some way valuable, the usual filling of weak and worthless lists of offerings or other dateless impossibilities being wholly wanting.

To make distinctions as to relative importance among such documents may seem invidious, but I must direct special attention to two. The first of these belongs on the philological side and is a large syllabary, which "contains more than a hundred different signs, gives in the first column the Sumerian values; in the second, the sign to be explained; in the third, the name of the sign; and in the fourth, the Semitic value corresponding to the Sumerian value in the first column". For students of history its importance might not appear on first glance, but one cannot read Sumerian or Babylonian historical documents without a knowledge of the meanings of the signs, and in this syllabary above threescore signs appear for the first time, while several hundred new values for signs previously in our possession are here furnished. The most striking new contribution is the discovery that in the Sumerian period the god whose name is written NIN-IB was pronounced Urta. Clay proceeds to argue learnedly that this supports his contention that NIN-IB is to be identified with MAR-TU and to draw other deductions. This may perhaps be true, but I have too much doubt of it to accept it at once.

Of indisputable historical value is the Larsa Dynastic List containing the names of fourteen rulers, of the dynasty of Larsa, followed by Hammurapi and Sin-muballit. Nothing that I could now write would be likely to exaggerate the importance which I attach to this

list. Its securing for the Yale museum is a master-stroke of Clay's business ability, and its publication is worthy of its quality. According to my chronological calculations these kings ruled approximately in the period 2364-2099 B. C. Clay, of course, raises, in his discussion, the burning question concerning Arioch (Gen. xiv. 1) whom many of us have identified with Arad-Sin, Clay himself having been of the number. The new list however shows that Aradsin was not a contemporary of Hammurapi, who seems quite certainly to have been the Amraphel of Genesis. Clay, therefore, determined to uphold the chronological as well as the historical character of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, now abandons the equation Arad-Sin = Arioch, though admitting still that it has a sound philological basis, and returns to Sayce's equation Rim-Sin = Arioch. I find it quite impossible to follow him in this, being unwilling to depart from an equation founded on sound philological principles merely to sustain the Genesis passage and being rather willing either to wait some other explanation not yet brought forward, or frankly to accept the explication of the passage as containing a legendary mistake. However this dispute may issue, I recommend to historical students to study in Clay's excellent introduction, well supplied with adequate translations, these valuable collections of tablets now published for the first time.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Archaeology and the Bible. By GEORGE A. BARTON, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union. 1916. Pp. xiii, 461, 114 plates.)

IN this volume Professor Barton has aimed to gather all the facts bearing upon the interpretation of both Old and New Testament that have been discovered by archaeology during the last century. He has done his work thoroughly. Scientific journals and reports of excavators have been ransacked with painstaking completeness, and the result is that the student is here presented with the most complete manual on the subject that exists in any language. The author is an accomplished Semitic philologist, so that all translations of inscriptions are made from the originals and represent the most advanced stage of modern linguistic science. He is also an historical critic of sober judgment and long training, so that he knows how to use his materials with discretion. In this work he has avoided the common vice of writing in an apologetic vein, and seeking to find in every discovery of archaeology a "confirmation" of the Bible; and also the no less dangerous vice of the modern German "Pan-Babylonian" school, of building fantastic theories on unsubstantial archaeological foundations, and of endeavoring with these to undermine the general historical character of the Bible.

The method of treating the subject is a combination of the topical and the historical. The nations of the ancient Orient, Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, the Hittites, and Palestine, are taken up successively, and under each head the following topics are considered: the land, the preservation of antiquities, the discovery of antiquities, the decipherment of the inscriptions, chronology, outline of the history, and discoveries which bear on the Bible. The translations of texts are all given together in the second part. This method has the advantage of allowing an easy classification of facts whose chronological determination is difficult, it also makes it possible to avoid the historical fixing of some of the Biblical traditions, and so to escape theological and critical controversy—an obvious desideratum in a book published by the Sunday-School Union and designed for the use of Sunday-School teachers and scholars.

For the student of history, however, this method has grave disadvantages. If one wishes to know what was happening in the ancient world in any given period of its history, one must go for the documents to the second part, and for the archaeological facts to every one of the preceding chapters. For instance, suppose that one wishes to know about the age of Abram. On page 294 one finds that Hammurapi may be the same as Amraphel of Genesis xiv., the contemporary of Abram. For the reign of Hammurapi one is compelled to go to chapter II. on Babylonia, where one learns on page 47 of the discovery of the Code of Hammurapi, and to page 53, where the reign of Hammurapi is described. The Code of Hammurapi is not given until chapter XIII. of part II. The contemporary history of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt is given in the first chapter, page 27 f., and the contemporary history of Palestine in chapter V., page 108. The story of Sinuhe, which belongs to this period, is not given until chapter XI. of part II. This method is most inconvenient for historical purposes. The histories of the ancient Oriental peoples interlock closely, and we want to know what was happening to all of them in any given period. A much more convenient method of treating the facts would be to divide the history into as brief periods as possible, *e. g.*, the Sumerian, the Akkadian, the Amorite, the Hittite-Hyksos, the Egyptian, etc., and under each of these periods to group in chronological order all the documents and all the facts archaeological and biblical. The lack of this method makes this work a source-book for historians rather than a history.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

Shakespeare's England: an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age. In two volumes. (London: Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. xxiv, 546; x, 610.)

AMONG the numberless memorials of the tercentenary of the death of the great dramatist this handsome and learned work is by no means one of the least worthy, and it may well prove to be one of the most permanent. Two sumptuous volumes published by one of the great universities and embodying investigations into all phases of the period of Shakespeare by some forty of England's leading writers in history, literature, and archaeology form certainly an interesting tribute to the poet and his times. It is professedly a memorial work. It is permeated through and through with Shakespeare. There is no aspect of the life of the English people in the last two decades of Elizabeth and the first of James for the elucidation or illumination of which some phrase from his works is not utilized. Indeed it may be confessed by even an appreciative critic that this perpetual remembrance and ingenious use of quotations becomes at times almost wearisome, and verges on that "damnable iteration" which even the dramatist himself deprecates. More than two thousand passages from Shakespeare's works are cited in the two volumes and the references are duly gathered, classified, and indexed at the close of the work. It is a striking indication of the infinite variety of the great poet that there are extremely few instances in which the same quotation is used on more than one occasion. It is also a proof of the extent to which the Elizabethan drama mirrored its time that something is to be found in Shakespeare or contemporary dramatists illustrative of every one of the varied subjects treated in these volumes.

The ode by the poet laureate which opens the work is a sombre reflection of this period of war rather than of the less heavily clouded period to which it refers: its yearning for peace, its effort to forget the desolation of the present in its theme of the past with its recurrent note of return to the things of to-day make it essentially a memorial poem of the year 1916. Sir Walter Raleigh's introductory essay on the "Age of Elizabeth", on the other hand, opens as spiritedly as the period to which it refers, though it soon drops from great names and conceptions to a description of the smaller antiquities of custom and costume of the time. The fact is, no single essay can give the characteristics of an age, certainly not of the Elizabethan age. It is only by a cumulative process that a real and correct impression can be given; and those who have had charge of this work have done well to seek this result in the chapters which follow without much regard to order or unity.

The essay on religion is preoccupied with Shakespeare's religion,

though it contains much interesting material concerning the established church as well as the reactionary Catholicism and the militant Puritanism of the time. There is a full and picturesque description of the queen's court by Mr. Chambers, the author of works on the medieval and later drama, followed by chapters on the army and navy, exploration by sea and travel by land, educational and intellectual interests, commerce and coinage, agriculture, medicine and natural history, by equally well-known specialists. There is an interesting and original chapter on a little considered subject, that of sixteenth-century handwriting, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, librarian of the British Museum, illuminated by ten or twelve facsimile pages and followed by a minute and technical study of Shakespeare's autograph signatures. The chapter on the Courts and the Law, perhaps from the inherent difficulties of the subject, is not quite up to the general level. It is incoherent, somewhat perfunctory, and in many points inaccurate. The unpopularity of the Court of Star Chamber is antedated and exaggerated, its independence of law and precedent misrepresented, and the familiar misstatement that it made use of torture in its procedure repeated. Peacham, whose prosecution the writer gives as an instance, was tried before the Court of High Commission, examined by the Privy Council, and put to torture before commissioners of the Council, not the Court of Star Chamber. He was finally tried and convicted at the assizes in Somerset; but neither he nor any other culprit was ever "interrogated on the rack before the Star Chamber".

The order of subjects is, as already stated, somewhat irregular. As successive chapters in the second volume on music, architecture, painting, and similar subjects lead on to Authors and their Patrons, Booksellers and Printers, Actors, the Playhouse, and the Masque, it would seem that the work was to find its natural culmination in the drama and allied subjects; but there follow upon these still other chapters on horsemanship, dancing, games, rogues and vagabonds. The work closes however in a more literary spirit with chapters on "Ballads and Broad-sides" and on "Shakespeare's English".

Attention must be called to the excellent illustrations, of which there are more than two hundred, all contemporary and almost all apposite. The problem of finding a satisfactory clue to the contents of a work of such varied character is as difficult as it is important. It has been well solved by a group of three excellent indexes, the one already mentioned—of the quotations from Shakespeare's works, an index of proper names, and a general index. The bibliographies of the various subjects are suggestive though hardly adequate. Altogether this is a notable and excellent work, a highly creditable contribution to English *Kulturgeschichte*, if a German technical word may be applied to an English literary production without offense. Its learning is solid, and, varied as are its contents, unity is to be found in their connection with the works of a great writer in a great age.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE, in succession to W. F. MONYPENNY. Volume IV., 1855-1868. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. x, 610.)

FOUR volumes of the Monypenny-Buckle *Life of Disraeli* have now been issued. A fifth volume is in the press. As a complete work it will be the longest and most detailed biography of any English statesman. It is not conceivable, however, that there will be much criticism of its length. Its fascination will carry its great volume and its personal and political detail. Its fascination, in fact, will be abiding; for since the office of prime minister was first developed in the British constitution, it has never been held by any man to whom a greater or more continuing interest attached than attaches to the man whom the English-speaking world likes to recall as Disraeli rather than as the Earl of Beaconsfield.

In bringing about legislation, or pre-eminent service in carrying the country through a great crisis, there are three or four premiers of the nineteenth century to whom much more must be credited than can even be claimed for Disraeli. Grey, Peel, and Gladstone all left a much greater impress on the statute book. The same can be said of Pitt, especially as regards his Irish legislation and the union of Ireland with Great Britain. Pitt also confronted a world crisis as great as that of 1914-1916. Should Mr. Asquith continue as premier to the end of the war, his services both as regards epoch-making legislation and guiding the empire through a great crisis, will be incomparably greater than those of Disraeli—the first Conservative premier who was drawn neither from the territorial governing class nor from the Inns of Court.

Only two great statutes—the parliamentary reform act of 1867 and the statute in which is embodied the democratic constitution of the Dominion of Canada—stand to the credit of Derby and Disraeli and the Conservative party in the period from the Peelite division of 1846 to the end of Derby's administration in February, 1868. Nor can much more legislation of first-class importance be credited to Disraeli during his second premiership from 1874 to 1880. Disraeli's outstanding service—the service to England on which his fame must rest—was, in fact, not in the realm of legislation, although he will always be remembered for his success in persuading a Conservative cabinet to accept household suffrage as the basis of the reform act of 1867; for his active and conspicuous part in carrying the reform bill through the House of Commons; and for ensuring it the support of the Conservatives in the House of Lords. His pre-eminent service to a country with parliamentary institutions, worked on party principles, was in rehabilitating, reorganizing, and greatly widening the base of the Conservative party, and giving it a national character—lifting it out of the disorganization and impotency which had characterized it from the end of the Wellington administra-

tion in 1828 to the incoming of the third Derby administration in June, 1866.

Mr. Buckle's new volume covers the years from 1855 to 1868—from the incoming of Palmerston's administration in February, 1855, to the resignation as premier of the Earl of Derby in February, 1868, and Disraeli's succession to that office. Each of the three earlier volumes—I. and II. written by the late Mr. Monypenny, and volume III. by Mr. Buckle—has its own peculiar interest; for there was no monotony or uniformity in the first thirty years of Disraeli's public career. His early life was quite unlike the earlier career of any other man who achieved fame at Westminster in the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century; for Disraeli was of no university; his only source of income was his pen; and unlike Pitt or Gladstone he never had a patron who could help him to a seat in the House of Commons.

Each of the preceding volumes, as has been said, has its peculiar interest, because of the period of Disraeli's variegated career that it unfolds. But were a student of English political history, or a lover of biography, starting on a vacation, and desirous to take with him a single volume of this detailed biography, his choice would assuredly fall on volume IV. It would fall on this volume because it covers the period of Disraeli's greatest achievement.

Half-way through this period—certainly by 1861—Queen Victoria had quite overcome the prejudices she had once entertained against Disraeli, due to some boulder-like episodes, political and social, in his earlier career. "A better knowledge of Disraeli's character", writes Mr. Buckle, in commenting on the fact that in January, 1861, both Disraeli and his wife, although Disraeli was then in opposition in the House of Commons, had been invited to Windsor, "had overcome the distrust of the Court before the Prince's death; but it was the sympathetic and appreciative manner in which Disraeli treated that tragic event that converted the Queen's somewhat negative feeling towards him into friendly interest, which was ultimately to develop, during his great ministry, into unbounded and even affectionate confidence." Disraeli, all through his life, always served out flattery adroitly and in overflowing measure. He once told Stanley, Derby's eldest son, that he was convinced that he would "turn out a regular Chatham", and he also told Stafford Northcote that he was a Hyde. The correspondence in this volume is often stamped with this characteristic; but in none of the letters is the strain of flattery more continuous or more obvious than in his letters to Queen Victoria. It is an oft-told story that the queen stood aloof from Gladstone, because he treated her as an institution; while she was friendly to Disraeli because he treated her as a woman. Queen Victoria's own letters, as published in 1907, show that she could be as sentimental as any middle-class matron of her era. Disraeli's letters to the queen of 1855-1868, as well as those of an earlier period, make it certain that he fully realized this trait in the queen's character, and turned the realization to account.

But no one will criticize Disraeli over-much for his use of flattery with the queen and elsewhere. From 1846 to 1868 he was confronted with the most stupendous task that was ever the lot of the leader of a political party at Westminster; and this task—that of galvanizing the Conservative party into life and rendering it such as could serve the country efficiently, either in opposition or in office—was all the more difficult because of the political and social obstacles, peculiar to him, that he had to overcome. In the history of English political parties there is no chapter that is quite so interesting as Disraeli's struggle to this end from 1846 to 1868. Even the chapter in the history of the Liberal party from 1886 to 1906—the chapter that extends from the defeat of Gladstone and the home rule Liberals in 1886 to the triumphant sweep of the constituencies by the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, and Lloyd George in 1906—does not exceed in vividness and continuity of interest the chapter in the history of the Conservative party from the division of the party over Peel's fiscal policy of 1846 to Disraeli's triumph with the parliamentary reform bill of 1867.

In writing this history from 1855 to 1868 it was not difficult for Mr. Buckle to keep Disraeli in the forefront of the picture. Disraeli was the man who was engineering the upbuilding of the Conservative party; and he was almost the only man really intent on this undertaking. Derby was his colleague in the task. He was his leader; and in these years Disraeli was nearly as deferential to Derby as he was to the queen. As yet there is no adequate biography of Derby; but as he is revealed in Mr. Buckle's pages, it is made evident that, had Disraeli not been his first lieutenant in these twelve or thirteen years, Derby could never have recreated the Conservative party, and thus given the Conservatives their term in office from 1874 to 1880, and again, with a break of only three years, from 1886 to 1905.

Malmesbury, Derby's colleague in the leadership of the Conservative party in the House of Lords, was even less well fitted than Derby for the undertaking for which Disraeli at this time was devoting his life; and from 1855 to 1868, practically from 1846 to 1868, the Conservative party, except for here and there a political lawyer intent on spoils, was more barren of men of ability in the House of Commons than at any period of its history from the reign of George II. to the outbreak of the Great War and the disappearance of party lines in 1914. Disraeli had accomplished his great task just as soon as the royal assent had been given to the act of 1867, which established household suffrage as the basis of the parliamentary franchise. This is the greatest measure with which Disraeli's name is associated. It is his greatest parliamentary achievement. As is appropriate to the part that Disraeli had in its framing and enactment, and to its tremendous influence on the fortunes of the Conservative party, Mr. Buckle goes into much detail concerning the bill, particularly as to the changes it underwent in the House of Commons. He brings out the part that Queen Victoria had in moulding the larger lines

of the measure; what Disraeli contributed to its success; what the bill cost Derby and Disraeli in defections from the ministry; and also what was contributed by the Liberals and the Radicals to the bill from which the modern Conservative party can with appropriateness date its origin.

Mr. Buckle draws on all the memoirs of the statesmen of that era for the material for these chapters. All this material is exceedingly well handled; with the result that the best, most complete, and most informing history of the reform act of 1867—of “the leap in the dark”—is now to be found, not in monographs on parliamentary reform, but in volume IV. of the Disraeli biography.

It must have been comparatively easy for both the late Mr. Monypenny and for Mr. Buckle in preparing the life of Disraeli to write a biography which should stand out among the biographies of English statesmen. Disraeli's origin, his character, and his peculiar and outstanding achievements, made it easily possible to produce such a work. Why the *Disraeli Life* stands out in the enormous library of British political biography has been indicated in this note and in the notes on the earlier volumes. But there is one other reason for its distinction that has yet to be stated. It is more than a life of Disraeli. From 1858 the book tells the story of the life of Mrs. Disraeli; and Mr. Buckle, largely by the extent to which he has drawn upon letters, has given us an admirable picture of the home life of the Disraelis and of Mrs. Disraeli's part in her husband's political career. Mrs. Gladstone is the only wife of an English statesman of front rank who has been as fortunate as Mrs. Disraeli as regards her husband's biographer.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Delane of the Times. By Sir EDWARD COOK. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1916. Pp. xi, 319.)

DASENT'S *Life* of Delane and Atkins's biography of William Howard Russell have been, heretofore, the principal works exhibiting the personality and influence of the man who for thirty-six years (1841-1877) was the “great editor” of the *Times*. Undoubtedly a more vivid impression of the man is received from the earlier works, than from the present one, but not so clear a statement and analysis of his position, policies, and influence. Dasent, unintentionally, leaves the impression that Delane was a tuft-hunter. The present author, Sir Edward Cook, shows, rather, that Delane, socially acceptable in the “highest circles”, received there the hints which made the *Times* not merely a record, but a forecast of events. Especially was Delane at home in political circles, never permanently allying the *Times* with any party or minister, but usually giving support to the incoming administration, and continuing it until signs of political change manifested themselves—when the *Times* often shifted to attack. Delane saw no inconsistency in this; he held that the *Times* should represent the people of England, and that the

influence and service of the paper were dependent upon a complete freedom from political ties. So powerful was his position that ministers (Lord John Russell excepted), while frequently vexed and privately expressing indignation with Delane's criticisms, paid court to him, gave him advance information, and often sought to discover the line the *Times* would take.

Of all the prime ministers, during the Delane editorship, Palmerston was his favorite; for the two men were of very similar tastes, principles, and outlook. Thus Delane "was not a democrat", and the *Times* was usually on the side of conservatism and tradition. Yet if the handwriting on the wall read that political reform was inevitable the *Times* favored and sought to guide that reform. Naturally conservatives accused Delane (as did Greville) of desiring "a change in the whole system of government, and the substitution of plebeians and new men for leaders of parties and members of aristocratic families" (p. 83). Yet radicals accepted Matthew Arnold's picture of the *Times* as

a gigantic Sancho Panza, following by an attraction he cannot resist that poor, mad, scorned, suffering, sublime enthusiast, the modern spirit; following it, indeed, with constant grumbling, expostulation, and opposition, with airs of protection, of compassionate superiority . . . but still following it (p. 142).

The very warmth of attack upon the *Times*, and from opposite quarters, testifies to Delane's independence and the power of his paper. He never permitted acknowledgment of error, being "an adept in the gentle art of journalistic curvature" (p. 106). Very little writing of leaders was done by Delane himself, but all of importance were outlined by him, their scope and treatment indicated, with many alterations before going to press. The entire issue passed under his supervision but the leading articles were his greatest care. It is important for students to understand, what the author emphasizes, that the first-column leading article of the *Times* furnishes the historical meat of that issue, in relation to both policy and news, for it was here that Delane presented the latest information, or the newest political prophecy. Indeed, the "great news" of the day might not appear at all in the news columns of that issue, and never, of course, with scare-heads to attract attention.

The present work, as a whole, is readable, accurate, and judicial in tone. It seeks to convey a just estimate of Delane's position and political influence, and it leaves one with a sense that a life of Delane very properly appears as the first volume of a new series, *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*.

E. D. ADAMS.

Un Demi-Siècle de Civilisation Française (1870-1915). Par MM. BAILLAUD, BOUTROUX, CHAILLEY, DOUMIC, GÉRARD, LANGLOIS, DE LA SIZERANNE, DE LAUNAY, LECOMTE, LEMOINE, RAPHAËL-GEORGES LÉVY, PAINLEVÉ, PERRIER, PICARD, POINCARÉ, RICHET, SCHNEIDER, STRAUSS, VIGER, WIDOR. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1916. Pp. 469.)

THE Third Republic is no longer apologetic; neither is it inclined to be boastful; but it is honestly proud of its achievements. Even before the war it had grown conscious of having done great things quietly. Until a few years ago no one could have been more self-critical than the French. They have admitted a political incapacity—under stress of Teutonic, English, and American criticism—while building up one of the greatest and most successful institutions of representative government the world has seen. They have accepted the strictures of a patronizing world upon their moral character and intellectual fibre—all the while remaining silent as to the weaknesses of their neighbors. The pride was there but it was too vital to risk revelation. Now, however, that France has shown herself to all the world for what she is, when a group of savants have combined to sketch the history, or at least to indicate the scope, of her achievements since the “terrible year”, 1870, there is little need of anything but simple, straightforward narrative, such as one finds in the volume under review. It is divided into twenty sections, devoted to such different subjects as Astronomy (by Baillaud), Philosophy (by Boutroux), Colonization (by Chailley), Literature (by Doumic), Metallurgy (by Schneider, “maître des forges”), etc.

On the face of it, such an enterprise would seem to be of considerable importance. But the present volume suffers from inadequate editorship. Although each section is from the pen of a competent collaborator, there is no scheme of co-ordination, the subjects seem chosen at haphazard, and the volume suffers accordingly. Someone should have exercised an editorial control and secured a juster proportion as well as a better arrangement. It can hardly have been due to political exigencies that the only reference to the work done in the Palais Bourbon and the Luxembourg should be devoted to “L'Éloquence Parlementaire”. In the eyes of the sterner critics of the republic there had been too much talking. On the other hand why give less space to the achievements of French art than to the development of autos and aeroplanes? The section which is of main interest to students of history happens, also, to be not over eighteen pages long—that on the development of history and historical study in France since 1870. Written by the competent hand of Ch. V. Langlois, director of the National Archives, it reveals at once that cautious attitude which has characterized all his work. “Il est vrai que la Renaissance historique de la seconde moitié du xix^e siècle, phénomène général, ne s'est pas produite qu'en France. Il est vrai qu'elle s'était accusée en Allemagne avant de s'accuser en France.” Yet

the Germans have not had a monopoly of historical criticism, which, after all, is but common sense keenly alert. Langlois is ready to admit that the French are not lacking in this equipment, but he apparently sees little in such a situation to be enthusiastic about. As a matter of fact, he hardly does justice to his theme owing to his preoccupation with works of erudition. Renan is recognized as the greatest historian of the period but the generous attitude toward the literary historian which Gabriel Monod could cherish, in spite of his ideals of exacting, scientific work, is here lacking. This is significant of the weakness in the recent French school of which Langlois is a leader, which attempts an objectivity which is unattainable and brings the energies of the lucid Gallic mind to bear upon the mathematical problem of a reconstruction of data into structures where no life is. There was something more than humor in the situation, when Seignobos attempted to get a purely objective judgment as to who were the great historians, by accepting those who were members of the Institute since this official designation involved bringing them to the attention of the public! After all, history is an art as well as a science.

J. T. SHOTWELL.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Readings in the Economic History of the United States. By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART, Ph.D., and CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON, Ph.D., of the Department of Economics in the University of Illinois. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xxvii, 862.)

It is a large task to attempt to present within the compass of a single volume original materials illustrating adequately the various phases in the economic development of our country. This volume of *Readings* gives the impression that the editors have tried to cover too much in a limited space. An unfortunate result has been the unsatisfactory treatment accorded the important economic problems which have arisen since the Civil War. What is particularly needed by teachers of both political and economic history is a collection of sources and secondary material setting forth with liberal detail and appropriate emphasis the circumstances and causes of the origin of our labor problem, the trust problem, the problem of urban concentration and rural depopulation, the problem of the free negro in the South. Such a collection can hardly be contained in six chapters of barely 250 pages, the space allotted to the last half-century of our history in this volume.

These six chapters contain reprints of government publications, mostly excerpts from census reports on agriculture and manufactures, with occasionally more enlightening discussions from the reports of the Industrial Commission of 1898 and the Immigration Commission of 1907. Census statistics are indeed important raw material for the history of our industrial evolution. But such material is too raw to be readily

digested and assimilated by the mental processes of the normal undergraduate. We can hardly expect him to examine these statistics critically and to piece together from them, bit by bit, the puzzle of the causes and results of economic changes. This section of the collection would have been greatly increased in value by the inclusion of generous reprints from the best monographic studies in agricultural history, in tariff history, in the history of the development of specific manufacturing industries, and in the history of industrial combinations. But such treatment of this period would have required a separate volume.

To aid in estimating the value of that part of Bogart and Thompson's *Readings* dealing with the period 1606-1860, one may fairly compare the material it presents with a collection covering practically the same period edited a few years ago by the late Professor G. S. Callender (*Selections from the Economic History of the United States, 1765-1860*, Ginn and Company, 1909). In both collections the treatment of important subjects such as the foreign trade of the colonies and the rise of manufactures is similar. The narrative descriptions of travellers, native and foreign, have been generously utilized in both volumes. In fact a considerable proportion, 76 out of 595 pages, of the documents reprinted in this part of Bogart and Thompson's *Readings* are to be found in substantially identical form in Callender's *Selections*.

The editors of these two collections differed fundamentally, however, in their conception of what economic history ought to be. As far as one can judge from a very brief preface, the aim of Professors Bogart and Thompson was to unfold a "panoramic picture" of "agriculture, manufactures, tariff, commerce, transportation, money and banking, labor and the movement of population", giving each in its turn due emphasis. They have attempted only to illustrate faithfully the various phases of our economic development. Callender's conception of the function of the economic historian was deeper. His view was that the economic historian must interpret the facts of past economic life by the use of the principles of economic science.

The difference in purpose is significant in explaining certain further points of contrast. The editors of the present volume seem to have been influenced more largely by the chronological principle in the arrangement of their material. Consequently the treatment of an important subject such as internal trade sometimes lacks unity and coherence. Why, for example, should there be a chapter entitled Agriculture, Slavery and Internal Trade, 1783-1808?

The documents reprinted by Callender were chosen to emphasize the causes and effects of economic conditions as well as to show simply the facts themselves. In this particular aspect Bogart and Thompson's *Readings* suffers by comparison. For example, it contains no documents showing the important result of slavery in preventing the accumulation of capital in the South. The causal relation between the great

increase in cotton planting in the South and the development of internal trade in the period 1800-1860 is not sufficiently emphasized.

The present volume was designed to provide large college classes with collateral reading in a course on the economic history of the United States and also to assist teachers of United States history in general to present "some phases of our development which do not always find a place in political histories". Both needs would have been better satisfied if the editors had supplied a carefully reasoned introductory essay at the beginning of each chapter. Brief explanatory paragraphs are indeed prefixed to the individual selections, summarizing their contents and generally showing the relation of the particular document to the entire chapter. But such comments are too disjointed to furnish a unified interpretation of the multitude of significant facts presented in this book.

PERCY WELLS BIDWELL.

History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States.

By EMORY R. JOHNSON, T. W. VAN METRE, G. G. HUEBNER, and D. S. HANCHETT. In two volumes. [Contributions to American Economic History from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1915. Pp. xv, 363; ix, 398.)

THESE two volumes cover but one division out of twelve in the general plan of the *Contributions to American Economic History*, by the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Their date of publication (1915) shows a lapse of thirteen years since the work was first outlined in 1902. One naturally expects them, therefore, in such hands to contain the fruitage of patient research in one of the most prolific fields of national interest. They have high merit as records of the progress of this country's economic life. The joint effort of the collaborators with Professor Johnson will, as intimated in Professor Farnam's introduction, be highly appreciated by all who have long wanted a better insight into the evolution of American commerce. At a time in our history when we are taking new soundings for our commercial future, these volumes are especially timely.

Volume I., in three parts, treats of American Commerce to 1789 (part I.), Internal Commerce (part II.), and the Coastwise Trade (part III.). The nine chapters of part I. lay emphasis primarily on questions of policy, but also give lucid exposition of the geographic conditions which have helped to determine the lines and areas of trade. These are traced through the colonial, the revolutionary, and the federation periods from the standpoint of foreign commerce including American fisheries and a concluding sketch of the structure of American commerce in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (pp. 175-189).

Internal Commerce, part II., in seven chapters, by Dr. T. W. Van Metre, describes our internal trade development in its several phases, down to 1910, and gives some account of the financial panic periods. Comparatively little attention is paid to the railway aspect of internal commerce, presumably because transportation is to be treated separately from domestic and foreign commerce in the general plan. Costs per ten-mile by turnpike, canal, or otherwise, are shown at intervals. Omission of the railroads as a feature of trade organization is somewhat compensated for by the four excellent railroad maps. An excellent physical map forms the frontispiece. One misses, for instance, basic maps of an economic character, with regard to the leading products which form the sources and supplies of commodities constituting commerce itself. Brevity of treatment is seen in the fact that internal trade from 1789 to 1910 occupies only 133 pages.

The Coastwise Trade in part III. traces most interestingly the part which the large seaboard cities have had in the country's commercial expansion. In this plan the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Pacific coasts are made the units, omitting lake trade, which might also be regarded as essentially coastwise in its geographical character (pp. 327-363).

Volume II. deals first with Foreign Trade since 1789, which is disposed of in nine chapters, comprising 156 pages. For so long a period the space allowed is rather inadequate. Yet the salient features are well covered and brevity detracts nothing from the excellence of treatment by Professor G. G. Huebner. But one wonders why eighty-one pages were given to the subject of fisheries, occupying half as much space as the whole theme of foreign trade for 126 years. Dr. T. W. Van Metre's discussion of fisheries in these chapters is valuable also as a contribution to international relations. The concluding portion, part III., dealing with Government Aid and Commercial Policy, by Dr. D. S. Hanchett (chapters XXVII.-XLI.) treats of federal regulation, the consular service, shipping and shipbuilding, rivers and harbors policy, and the tariff, concluding with a valuable bibliography of general references. The index, comprising twelve double-column pages, shows that few, if any, matters of primary interest have not received attention. On the whole the American public is to be congratulated on this contribution. Its positive value to students of the subject will consist in laying the ground-work for specific studies. It will insure balance to specialization far more fully than has hitherto been possible in the prosecution of research on commercial lines. To the business interests it should supply the long-needed perspective, and it is hoped that no one will make more diligent use of these volumes than the members of Congress. American politics, as well as economics, will be all the saner and the more concrete for the work which Professor Johnson and his co-workers have done.

The volumes are sure to serve as an inspiration to further effort along many lines. The publishers have done a highly creditable piece of book-

making and the public interest is whetted with expectation for the other divisions of these contributions in the hope that they may be no less successful. Apart from what might be the wiser division of the space allotted to subjects, the plan and methods of treatment of the *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* should be helpful in making the volumes that are to follow.

JOHN FRANKLIN CROWELL.

History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860. By VICTOR S. CLARK. [Contributions to American Economic History from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1916. Pp. xii, 675.)

THE volume under review may safely be proclaimed one of the most important and valuable contributions to the economic history of the United States which has appeared in recent years. It also affords a most promising augury of what the resources of the Carnegie Institution, combined with scholarship, may hope to accomplish in this large field of research.

The value of the work is in no small degree to be attributed to the broad interpretation and the method of treatment adopted by the author. To quote his words, he has sought not solely to present

a picture of the past, but to interpret selected historical data as illustrating phases of economic progress. To this end the topical method has been here adopted. No attempt has been made to record the minutiae of manufacturing annals, to fix the exact dates when unimportant factories were established, to describe technical processes and patents, or to enter into other details likely to confuse the purport of essential facts in their relation to general economic movements. The purpose has been to cull what is really significant from the mass of materials at hand, and so to arrange it as to show most clearly the forces that have shaped the development of American manufactures (p. 1).

In carrying out this purpose the author has not been content to rely chiefly on secondary sources but has gone back and made use of a vast mass of material gathered, not only from contemporary accounts in printed form, but also from a considerable number of sources now available only in manuscript. On this broad basis he has admirably carried out his announced purpose. The conclusions drawn are careful and well balanced, the interpretation is keen and illuminating, and the method scholarly throughout. As a result we now have available for the first time a thorough, comprehensive, and really interpretative history of our manufacturing industries down to 1860.

In treating the subject the history of manufactures has been divided into two main periods, the colonial period and that following the attainment of political independence, each period being covered sepa-

rately under topical headings. The author suggests, however, that it is possible to make further subdivisions into: the period up to about 1688, covering the pioneer years of American settlement; the period 1688-1764, during which the colonies as British possessions reached full maturity; the period 1764-1790, marked by rapidly succeeding crises in the economic life, due primarily to international political disturbances, and during which any sound development was impossible; the period 1790-1815, in many respects similar to the preceding, but at the end of which American manufacturing industry had attained a firm foundation; the period 1815-1840, when our staple manufactures began to integrate along lines of production and distribution essential to the needs of the country, though homespun industry still supplied a large part of the nation's consumption; and the period 1840-1860, when the effects of the introduction of railroads and new technical processes began to dominate and manufactures integrated out of commerce.

The headings under which the topical treatment of the two main periods is presented cover such subjects as: domestic and foreign legislation, natural resources, transportation and markets, technology and organization, wages and labor, capital, currency, and prices, and volume and distribution of manufactures. For the latter period special chapters cover the textile and metal industries.

The conclusions which the author draws in the course of this topical treatment appear, in the main, further to substantiate, to broaden, and generously to add to the opinions more commonly accepted to-day rather than to confute them. For the colonial period the author states: that the presumption becomes better defined with every new detail of fact revealed, that upon the whole the industrial development of the colonies was about where it would have been had their economic policies been governed by their own people—natural influences being vastly more important than political policies in determining that development (p. 30); that “during the last century of colonial history a growing market abroad caused primary manufactures in America to expand and multiply; and foreign competition, though it continued to limit, did not seriously encroach upon existing manufactures for home consumption” (p. 122); that “colonial experience afforded no example of either success or failure conspicuous enough to commend any element of its legislation particularly to the Federal Government or to State lawmakers of a later period” (p. 71); that “lack of currency and of a sound system of finance was more influential than lack of capital in checking the growth of colonial manufactures” (p. 124); and that “the relatively high cost of labor was the most marked symptom of the complex of economic conditions that discouraged manufactures in America” (p. 158).

For the period following 1790 the author concludes: that in spite of independence the European background to American industry played as important a part in the development of our manufactures as during the

colonial period, because of the severe economic competition following upon inventions and technical progress (p. 233); that the effect of undeveloped natural resources on production was the dominant force controlling capital, wages, and profits as they separately and collectively affected manufactures (p. 364); that the wages of unskilled labor were one-third or a half higher in America than in Great Britain, the wages of artisans were also high, but in the case of factory labor there was much less difference (p. 390-391); that "the total effect of protection was to encourage manufactures; some early outgrew the benefits of this influence; others continued to be sustained solely by its support; others were more hampered than aided by the complex of conditions with which this legislation surrounded their operations" (p. 312); and finally, that "when our country was founding its economic system, manufacturing everywhere broke away from ancient technical precedents; processes of production were revolutionized, and world forces were set at work that superseded the limited and local conditions of a single nation. To these broader influences, rather than to our great natural advantages or to the genius of our people, must be attributed much of our industrial progress" (p. 578).

In the main the conclusions of the author, backed up as they are by scholarly method and a broader basis of fact than has heretofore been available, will, it is believed, be accepted. Concerning a few of the more general statements the reviewer, however, would be inclined to raise a question. The description of the object of the mercantile system (p. 9) seems too narrow, not sufficiently recognizing its broader state-building objective. The assertion that the scarcity of colonial currency resulted from the tendency of capital to assume fixed forms and not from the lack of wealth (p. 123) is certainly doubtful. The reasons for this scarcity assigned on the following page, plus the poverty of the colonial governments, appear more satisfactory. The conclusion that: "Manufacturing is the phase of production that has modified most our national character and the constitution of society" (p. 578), will scarcely meet with general acceptance. If the term "modified" is used in the sense of bringing about changes rather than fundamentally shaping our character and society it would be less objectionable but even then the reviewer would wish to substitute the present tense for the past. However, these are chiefly questions of relative emphasis, and one feels almost ungracious in raising them at all in the case of a work which contains so much that deserves only the warmest commendation.

The volume is admirably printed with large type on good paper. It includes several maps showing the distribution of different manufactures and a useful appendix, chiefly devoted to price statistics. The index is adequate and the bibliography comprehensive. The New York state censuses, 1825, should have been listed in the latter.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT.

Manhattan, 1624-1639. By EDWARD VAN WINKLE. (New York: The Holland Society. 1916. Pp. viii, 47.)

THIRTY years ago, Henry Harrisse acquired three highly interesting maps of New Netherland (1639). As he purchased these in open market, his collector's zeal stimulated by the descriptions given in the catalogue of Frederik Muller and Company of Amsterdam, M. Harrisse conceived a profound contempt for unobserving New York "paleographical wiseacres" who had failed to note the items and had thus allowed to "go begging for a mere song the superb series of New Netherland, Manhattan, and North River *manuscript maps*, magnificently *drawn on the spot* [the italics are M. Harrisse's] in 1639 (you hear 1639) by Joan Vingboons (Prince of Nassau's cartographer) for the West Indies Company of Holland". Such was the commentary jotted down by the self-satisfied successful student of the catalogue.

Now the map entitled "Manatys" not only shows the island in outline approximating to the true proportions of the land, but it is accompanied by a list of those occupying the farms and plantations, specifically designated by reference numbers. There are fifty items listed, mills, fort, and negro quarters being added to the names of those dwelling on the allotments. It is, thus, an early directory of more than mere antiquarian interest and it is not surprising that the late owner of the document, himself an alien, should have permitted his pen to run away with his emotions of surprise that enlightened amateurs, who often paid a thousand pounds for a printed book of which at least five copies were in existence, had not mustered courage to buy this Manhattan map with its real-estate data, at \$17. These critical sentiments, more vivacious than kindly, were not meant for the public eye. The French historian placed his three cartographical treasures within one cover duly labelled as "drawn on the spot by Joan Vingboons" in 1639. It was to the fly-leaves alone that he confided his private opinion of New Yorkers whose eyes should have discovered a treasure peculiarly appealing to them. The public did not know of the find until 1892, when it was permitted to make part of a Columbian exhibit in Paris, nor of the possessor's comments and critical attitude until requests for more information in its regard led to a partial expression of the same. Upon James Grant Wilson were lavished some very derogatory adjectives, but probably that gentleman never knew how M. Harrisse really felt about his method of writing New York history. Mr. Phelps Stokes seems to have been the first toiler in the field to have inspired a greater confidence and he was allowed, through the eyes of a friend, a vicarious peep at the jealously guarded object. But he, too, had to wait, like the rest of those whose curiosity had been whetted by rumors, for the owner's death, before he could obtain a photograph of the map for the first volume of his *Iconography*. A critical discussion of it and its mate, the Costello, showing nearly the same delineation of Manhattan Island, was reserved for the second volume of this most notable and

reassuring work on New York. The Costello map was, by the way, preserved in a villa near Florence.

Now, in 1916, the valuable little atlas comes to the Library of Congress by special bequest of M. HARRISSE to be at the service of everyone. It is a great gift, far more interesting just as it is, with the late owner's own carping touch upon it, than it can be in any reproduction, even the most faithful.

Mr. Van Winkle's gay blue and orange volume, entitled *Manhattan, 1624-1639*, undoubtedly performs a useful service in making known a new acquisition of the Library of Congress. It is not, however, dedicated exclusively to that, as its name shows. With the evident intention of putting into convenient and accessible form the earliest authentic data concerning the beginnings of the city, he has included under his title some pages from the Van Rensselaer manuscripts now conserved at the Hague, in addition to the Manatys map. The former gives lists of live stock in 1624, the latter of the colonists in 1639. The map is given in a reproduction of reduced size and again in full size, folded, with the list of names in translation. There are also cuts of the city seals and twenty-eight pages of notes on the names. For some reason the editor has chosen to adopt the form *Vingboom* for the cartographer—or at least, the engraver of the map—in preference to *Vingboons*, as the name is written by every editor of reference books wherein the members of the family are mentioned, except by Würzburg in his *Niederländische Künstler-Lexicon*, who gives *Vingboom* as an alternative form. The ground of this choice by Mr. Van Winkle is not mentioned.

In regard to the translation, it would have been better, perhaps, had it gone further than it does. The retention of the *van* in descriptive names of settlers from Holland, or who had come to America by way of Holland, has had a tendency to obscure the facts of true name and origin. Where the *van* obviously means *from* or *of*, its translation would make it evident that at the time of the immigrant's arrival the particle was no part of his name, whatever it may have become in the possession of his posterity. As the notes are wholly in English, the ambiguity might have been entirely avoided in the text of the biographical sketches, especially when the locality of origin is not attached to the name as listed on the map. For instance, the name Claes Cornelisse Swits (p. 7) would seem better as "Claes Cornelissen the Swiss". The son of this man is so plainly designated as "Cornelis the son of Claes" in its Dutch form that there is no doubt as to what was name and what descriptive adjective.

As to the map itself, it is quite possible that time and careful investigation may prove M. HARRISSE to have been over-confident in his conviction that the map was made on the spot by Joan Vingboons and that it was the original that came into his hands from the library of N. Posthumus as catalogued by Frederik Muller. There is some reason

to doubt whether Vingboons touched foot on American soil and again some reason to suspect that, wherever the original was drafted, the HARRISSE copy may be nothing more than a transcript; Mr. Stokes even suggests 1660 as the date of its own origin. At the first glance, two items excite curiosity. *Noot* Rivier instead of *Noort* in the lettering is an error that does not seem a probable one from the pen of a Hollander, any more than *Senikant* instead of *Predikant*. That word occurs as follows: "21-B van Senikant", very plainly. The translator's surmise that the word should be *Predikant* is correct beyond a doubt. The reference locates the Bouwerie definitely and it is the place allotted to the first husband of one Anneke Jans and known as the property of her second husband, Everardus Bogardus, a domine or preacher or predikant by the year 1639.

These and other points are, undoubtedly, discussed by Mr. Stokes in his forthcoming volume in connection with the Costello map, which differs from the Manatys map in the spelling of Noort, though apparently not in the second item. At least *nikant* is discernible on the small reproduction given in the *Iconography* and the six letters would imply *Senikant* rather than *Predikant*.

One general observation may be made on the store of information contributed to local history by the map. There was little staying power in the settlers; as more and more reliable documents come to light, it is evident that ownership or leasehold of land shifted continually on Manhattan from the early decades of her civic existence. There was constant change of base as one or another adventurer thought he might be better off up the Hudson River or back at the mouth of the Rhine. Little did they imagine what a service they would have rendered to their descendants, had they held tenaciously to their first easily acquired holdings, so that the family of to-day could read their title clear to the same!

The Founding of Spanish California: the Northwestward Expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783. By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxxii, 485.)

BROADLY speaking there are three classes of books in the field of Spanish California history: the class which traces all important movements to the initiative of the Mission; that which traces such movements to the Spanish royal or vice-royal authorities, but which recognizes in the Mission an influence so vital and constant as to be for the most part controlling; and lastly, that which, putting the Mission in a place distinctly secondary, finds the true source of events in the Spanish government.

The book before us belongs avowedly to the class last named.

Indeed, it may well be characterized as a history of Spanish California on the political and diplomatic side; and as such it is a work of thoroughness and elaboration. Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft in his monumental *History of California* used a multitude of original sources, but he made no search of the Spanish national archives themselves. This task (a pleasant one evidently) Mr. Chapman has performed with competence and the utmost industry.

Acknowledging, as we should be first to do, the indispensable need of research—minute research often—in historical work, it is yet in its research, or, rather, over-research, aspect that we are constrained to be critical of Mr. Chapman's study. To begin with, the book is much too long; and in the next place it is largely wanting in perspective.

The comparative ignorance of Americans with regard to the development of Spain, politically and institutionally, within the limits of North America, may be fully admitted; and as well the desirability of their enlightenment; but the trouble with books like the present one is that, outside the class room, they do not enlighten as books should. They carry so many facts per line that instead of enlightening the reader—yea, the industrious reader—they tend to suffocate him. He is apt to stop in their perusal half-way through.

It of course should be recognized that it is not to the layman that such books are primarily addressed; but we nevertheless think that books so published as to bespeak attention as works of general interest should observe, in handling masses of facts, the fundamental rules of selection and compression. If, as in Mr. Chapman's study, the documents used are not so much digested as calendared—lengthily abstracted—the resulting manifold is hardly in the true sense a book at all. It is a compilation—a series of doctoral theses—for the sake of which the *ensemble* (and reader) suffer not a little.

But, with this much of general caveat, let us be more precise.

Mr. Chapman's study embraces specifically the years 1687 to 1783. Its theme is the advance, long premeditated and planned, of Spain from Mexico City northwestward along the Pacific Coast, with the object of heading off the approach of rival powers: France by way of New Mexico; England by way of the Pacific Ocean; and Russia by way of the present Alaska. In assuming this task, Spain, as Mr. Chapman points out, was constantly thwarted by Indian revolts and shortage of revenue. The routes followed were three: one by sea from San Blas; one overland from Lower California, and one overland, along the Gila and Colorado rivers, from Sonora. In pursuing these routes there were brought into play the energies of men—Spanish statesmen and soldiers—such as José de Gálvez—inspector-general; Antonio María Bucarely y Ursúa—viceroy; Julián de Arriaga—minister of the Indies; and in New Spain itself Gaspar de Portolá (a character rather mild), whose expedition founded Monterey; and Juan Bautista de Anza (a strong character), who founded San Francisco.

In proving, and not merely stating, or implying, the fact that the occupation of the Upper California Pacific Coast by Spain between 1769 and 1783 was at bottom a political and not a religious proceeding, and in emphasizing the political significance for the United States of the massacre of Spanish colonists on the Colorado River by the Yuma Indians in 1781, our investigator performs a service of value. It is the assumption that this service is worth the detail which, as detail, is marshalled in its discharge, that provokes dissent.

On topics ancillary to the main theme, Mr. Chapman's volume offers much that is useful for the investigator. Coast exploration; the system of the frontier presidio; the Pious Fund; the Spanish colonial system; a once projected Tehuantepec Canal—all, as ancillary topics, are illuminatingly presented. Furthermore, there are half a dozen small but well-executed maps of dates from 1751 to 1778; useful bibliographical notes on printed and manuscript sources; appendixes; and a careful index.

An interesting portrait of Viceroy Bucarely forms a frontispiece to the volume, and Professor H. Morse Stephens contributes a helpful introduction.

IRVING B. RICHMAN.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1706-1708, June, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1916. Pp. lviii, 871.)

THE issue, under the new arrangement, of a second volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, within a few months after the appearance of the first is a happy augury for a completion of the work within a reasonable time. If Mr. Headlam and those who may possibly succeed him in the task can prepare two volumes a year, thus advancing the series at the rate of about four years of the eighteenth century to one of the twentieth, we can hope to reach 1763 in fourteen or fifteen years. As the *Journal of the Board of Trade*, now in preparation for the printer, will have been issued long before the calendaring is finished, it seems probable that within a calculable time, a printed collection of the British material for colonial history will be accessible to the student. That such a situation will deeply affect the writing of our history, I confidently believe, for the older insularity of treatment was due quite as much to want of documents as to American patriotic bias. British problems and methods of control and the extent of British influence in America can be ascertained only when all the records of the governing authorities in England are brought into combination, and such grouping of material for student purposes is practically impossible as long as these records remain in manuscript.

In length, the present volume has been exceeded but once in the

series, and in interest and importance has never been surpassed. We see here the British system of management gradually taking shape. The Board of Trade, in co-operation with the Secretary of State, is zealously endeavoring to organize colonial administration and to define the powers of colonial officials. Its correspondence with the governors is full and regular, and its attention is chiefly centred upon the commissions and instructions of the governors, the scope and distribution of their powers, the devolution of authority in case of death, and the functions of both council and assembly. Constitutionally, the most important decision here rendered is that which took from the whole council the right to exercise the governor's powers and placed it squarely and without qualification in the hands of the president. Scarcely less important is the statement, here repeated in a new form, that the assembly had no more right to exercise the privileges of the House of Commons than the council had to exercise those of the House of Lords, a statement which shows that the English authorities never considered the colonial form of government in any sense a copy of that of England. This is further shown in the Board's declaration that the council had as much to do with the granting and raising of money as had the assembly, and that the latter could control its own appropriations and name its own treasurer only in very special and extraordinary cases.

Of lesser moment, but equally indicative of the Board's watchfulness, are the efforts here recorded to systematize the sending of letters from America, to encourage Dummer's packet service to the West Indies, to ensure a more methodical transmission of copies of legislative acts and proceedings, and to obtain a more regular despatch of colonial statistics, such as related to population, commerce, courts, and military defense. The Board was far from disposed to uphold the governors in all their actions, and not only criticized much that they did, but frequently reversed their decisions, particularly in the matter of appointments. In all that related to the royal prerogative, however, the attitude of the Board was inflexible.

The year 1707 saw the passage of two important acts of Parliament—the Act for the Union with Scotland and the Act for ascertaining the Rates of Foreign Coins in the Plantations. Both acts are frequently referred to in this volume. The first settled forever the status of Scotsmen in the colonies, and the second endeavored to control the value of gold and silver coins, in order thereby to render effective the proclamation of 1704. As an earlier volume made it clear that the proclamation was due, in part at least, to Maryland's complaint of the coinage act of Pennsylvania, so we now learn with more certainty than before that the regulation of the rates at which foreign coins were to pass was calculated from the Massachusetts act of 1697. In the debate that took place upon this question, one important decision was reached: an act passed in the colonies and confirmed by the crown had the force of an act of Parliament in England and could not be set aside or contradicted

at a later time even by Parliament itself. In this volume also is a considerable body of evidence of value for a study of the Land Bank Act or Paper Money Act of Barbadoes, a phase of the financial history of the colonies that is little known, but which was in its way as unwise and demoralizing as the corresponding act in Massachusetts later.

We are glad to note that Mr. Headlam has at last discovered the *Pennsylvania Archives* and the *New Jersey Archives*, and we have no doubt but that in time he will discover those of Maryland and North Carolina also. His calendaring is extraordinarily well done, and the opportunities that he gives for criticism are very few. "Mohican" is not the accepted spelling for "Mohegan" and the use of it in both preface and index is the more strange because of the regular appearance of the proper spelling in the text. For the work as a whole we have only the highest praise. Valuable as the earlier volumes of the series have been, it is as we advance into the eighteenth century that the *Calendar* becomes not only informing but positively illuminating. Every added volume from this time on is certain to widen the range of our knowledge of a period not only neglected but largely misunderstood.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778. By EDWARD S. CORWIN, Ph.D., Professor of Politics, Princeton University. (Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. Pp. ix, 430.)

It is a satisfaction to possess within the compass of a single volume a complete exposition of Franco-American relations during the American War of Independence. Such a volume, prepared with conscientious care, Professor Corwin has given us in *French Policy and the American Alliance*, which covers not only the negotiation of the treaties of 1778 and of the treaty of peace but furnishes us with a clear elucidation of the policy of France, considered from the point of view of its genesis, in determining upon a participation in the war.

The sources of information upon this subject are at present not only completely accessible, but for the most part to be found in printed documents; and there is no probability that further exploration of the archives will add anything of importance to the documentation now in hand, with the possible exception of some new light upon the Anglo-Spanish negotiations. Of all this material, of which Doniol has made the most important compilation, Professor Corwin has made a faithful and intelligent use that reflects credit at the same time upon his industry and his sense of proportion.

The result does not in any important particular revolutionize the conceptions formed by the best accredited of the previous writers, but it does appreciably add to our conviction that we are now able to comprehend the aims of the French government, the peculiar limitations of

its freedom of action on account of the relations with Spain, and the substantial loyalty of the king and his ministers to their engagements with the colonies.

Treating as he does solely of official policies and purposes, Professor Corwin makes no attempt to deal with questions of sentiment, either as regards the sympathy of the French people with the American colonists or the appreciation felt by the beneficiaries of French co-operation against Great Britain; and in this he is strictly logical. Great Britain had in 1763 deprived France of her American colonies, had opposed her interests on the Continent, had aided in humiliating her and destroying her prestige as a European Power, and was likely at some time to menace her West Indian possessions. By all the canons of eighteenth-century diplomacy, therefore, it was the policy of the French monarchy to inflict humiliation and loss upon Great Britain; and this was the motive that underlay the influence which the Count de Vergennes brought to bear upon Louis XVI. to induce him, first to offer secret aid, and finally openly and actively to espouse the American cause. Of official sympathy with the political ideas of the American Revolution there is, of course, no evidence; and yet the enthusiasm of the French people for the American cause, which was not merely resentment toward Great Britain but sincere sympathy with the American aspirations for liberty, must not be overlooked, for it was an appreciable factor in sustaining the official policy of the monarchy with popular approval, which was beginning to be felt as an influence in France. It was a risk, undoubtedly, that the monarchy was running in giving encouragement to liberal ideas; but this was counterbalanced to a considerable extent by the desire to restore the prestige of the crown, which had fallen so low under Louis XV.

Among the subjects particularly well discussed by Professor Corwin is the divergence of interests between France and Spain, and the consequent difficulty which Vergennes experienced in trying to reconcile them. Spain, having territorial possessions in North America adjacent to the British territories, had to consider her future interests on that continent. If the colonists succeeded in the war, there was danger that they would claim the possession of all the territory east of the Mississippi with the right of free navigation on that river, thus destroying the Spanish monopoly of commerce in the Gulf of Mexico, with a possibility of further aggressions. The danger resulting from an infection of the Spanish colonists with revolutionary ideas was also to be considered. For these reasons Spain never desired a complete success by the revolted colonies. France, on the other hand, having lost her continental American possessions, and having no disposition to recover them, but only to weaken and abase Great Britain, had no such interests at stake.

The policies of the two governments, though bound together by the *Pacte de famille* in terms of closest alliance, and united in their hostility to Great Britain, were at variance at many points; and one of the most

puzzling problems in Vergennes's diplomacy was to maintain the interests of France and the honor of the king as affected by the family compact on the one hand and the American alliance on the other. In this very difficult situation the part played by Vergennes was at times somewhat ambiguous, and has been severely criticized by writers who did not duly estimate the complications of his position; but, in the light of all the obligations involved, the rôle of Vergennes is, on the whole, creditable to his high sense of loyalty to both the allies of France. If at times his devotion to American interests seems to flag, the reasons for it are to be found, if not in the faults of the Americans themselves, in the obligations of the family compact between the two Bourbon monarchies. On the other hand, when the occasion called for it, the French minister did not hesitate to denounce the policies of Florida Blanca as "grounded in passion, prejudice and selfishness". Yet it should not be forgotten that the *Pacte de famille* was the real foundation of French diplomacy, while the American alliance was only a diplomatic episode. "Spain", wrote Vergennes, "will put her interests before everything else . . . and she looks upon independence with regret". In view of the counteracting influences, it must be admitted that Vergennes's attitude toward the colonies, to which he caused Louis XVI. to assent, was one of generous loyalty so far as the interests and obligations of France would permit.

In the controversy over Jay's conduct in the negotiations of peace, Professor Corwin seems to take a middle course; and justifies it by an explanation of the reason why Jay, whose frosty experience at Madrid had ripened his diplomatic perceptions, was suspicious of a too strong leaning on the part of Vergennes toward the Spanish interests, which he felt warranted in counteracting with all his power.

Taken as a whole, we have in this volume a scholarly piece of work, executed with an evenness of temper and sobriety of judgment that are to be strongly commended and should quite disarm a critic who might be disposed to be meticulous in pointing out insignificant defects, such as a considerable harvest of printer's errors, of which the author is no doubt fully aware but which are so evidently mere mechanical slips that they will not greatly annoy the reader. The style is even and perspicuous. Of individualisms the frequently recurrent expression "by the same token" is the most marked. Its vagueness does not, however, prevent its serving as a useful idiom for expressing the idea that the same transaction may have quite different aspects.

DAVID J. HILL.

The Revolution in Virginia. By H. J. ECKENRODE, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics and History in Richmond College. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. iii, 311.)

WE have in this volume one of the best studies of local history in a limited period that has been written in the American field. After most scholarly and exhaustive research the author has told his story with

good literary sense, only rarely obscured by lack of courage to sacrifice materials laboriously collected; and he has brought to the task broad human sympathies, alert for all manner of causes and influences whether they are recognized by the schools or not. The work is rich in new suggestions, courageous conclusions, and significant contributions to the larger currents of our national history. The reviewer disagrees at times with the author's judgments, but at the same time is so much impressed by the evidence contrary to his former belief that he would prefer studying the whole matter over again before committing himself to a contrary opinion. There is room for merely an outline of the interesting or important conclusions of this study. The author thinks the significant thing in Patrick Henry's opposition to the Two-Penny Act was that by a *coup* he turned a quarrel in the House of Burgesses into a general political issue, and not that he appeared as a tribune combating class privilege. Moreover, he did not originate in the House of Burgesses the spirit of resistance to the British imperial policy, but rather showed to men already aroused the wisdom of immediate and emphatic action in opposition. Most Virginian leaders were ready for protest but not for treason. Forced into that they went on until Peyton Randolph, who "would have given 500 guineas for a single vote to help defeat Henry's motion", became later the first speaker of the revolutionary House of Burgesses and the first president of the Continental Congress. It was Henry's appearance, a rallying figure for all the elements of revolution, which marked the spread of the spirit of revolt from the assembly to the body of the people. Here too was the rise of the Democratic party, which under Jefferson expanded beyond the bounds of Virginia to the nation at large. Thus Jefferson was not its creator, but the leader who molded to his purposes what already existed in an undefined way. Mr. Eckenrode makes very clear that the Revolution in the South was not of economic origin. He admits that the insistent economist might pronounce the Revolution in Virginia another Catilinarian conspiracy to obtain relief for the planters, heavily in debt to the British merchants, by war, with its resultant *tabula rasa*. But, in fact, the cause was political. It was the determination of a proud, easy-going, liberty-loving community, conscious of its importance in America, and of its small importance in English eyes, to maintain its old independence and increase it. Moreover, it was not demagogues but the local gentry who fanned the flame of rebellion in the tide-water region. An excellent study of the county committees shows that their work was supported by the large landholders, who thus inadvertently led the colony into war. The political thinkers of the Old Dominion were planters whose leisure gave them time for becoming acquainted with Locke and Sidney, who furnished them precedents for revolutionary activity. Familiar with such ideas they did not oppose the Declaration of Independence. Yet few of Virginia's leaders had imbibed eighteenth-century liberalism; they wished merely for a colonial government un-

hampered by a governor's meddling, or a royal veto. Thinking Englishmen's thoughts, upholding English institutions, the great planters looked down on dissenters and democrats who sought to readjust the constitution to liberal ends. In spite of them, however, the Revolution in Virginia, beginning with the rights of America, ended with the rights of man.

A most interesting chapter deals with the "Fall of Jefferson", whose failure as war governor of Virginia, and even his narrow escape from impeachment, did not wreck his career. The author does not accept the current accusation of cowardice but substitutes that of military incompetence, partly the result of Jefferson's strict constitutionalism, which made him always turn to the assembly when instant action was the only effective course. It was the same deficiency which later marred his presidential term. No other military system seemed possible to him than calling out crowds of the rawest militia at the moment of need. These follies did not spoil his political success, because of his rare capacity for expressing the spirit of his age, as he did so nobly in the Declaration of Independence.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

America's Foreign Relations. By WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M., L.H.D., Honorary Professor of the History of American Foreign Relations in New York University. In two volumes. (New York: The Century Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 551; vii, 485.)

MR. JOHNSON has undertaken to write "a popular history in a worthy sense of that too often abused term, intended for popular perusal and accurate information upon topics which are among at once the most important and the most neglected or most misunderstood in all our national annals". The impression left by the reading of his two volumes is that, on the whole, he has succeeded in his task. In general his attitude is judicial, his vision is broad and sympathetic, and his judgments mature and reasonable. While his literary style may not charm, it is clear and cogent; the narrative rarely flags in interest, because the merely episodic is generally avoided. The writer has so woven the details together as to give unity to his theme. The quotation from Washington's farewell address, with which the book closes, may be considered as a text upon which the work is based. The exclusion of "inveterate antipathies" and "passionate attachments" for other nations, "steering clear of any permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world", has been to the author the guiding motive in our foreign relations, which, departed from in the past to our detriment, is still, in his opinion, the fundamental basis for a correct foreign policy. Such a position may seem old-fashioned and even timid in these days, but that it will appeal to most of his readers is hardly doubtful.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXII.—26.

Notwithstanding the obvious merits of the work, it has some of the faults apt to attend such a performance. In some matters the writer has special knowledge and as to them (*e. g.*, the canal policy) he writes freshly and with vigor. In others he has less interest. As to them he is apt to be perfunctory and to accept traditional views (*e. g.*, the Revolutionary peace negotiations). Furthermore, the volume betrays here and there carelessness of statement which mars, even though it may not materially lessen, the value of the whole.

As is to be expected in a popular work, no authorities are given and it is not always easy to trace the sources of information. Now and then, however, it is apparent that recent monographic contributions have not made their impress upon the author as one might expect. The background is that of the English colonies in North America, little attention being paid to the larger questions of diplomacy which affected them; a better perspective, for example, might have been gained by considering British and Spanish contacts in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What is said about the Revolutionary diplomacy is at first Anglophobe and later strongly tintured by the Jay tradition. Indeed John Jay and John Hay are the two great lights in the writer's diplomatic firmament. Had use been made of Marshall's *Western Boundary of Louisiana*, Adams's negotiations with Onís would have had new significance. The conclusions of Mr. Golder's article in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1915, require a recasting of the account of the visit of the Russian fleet to the United States during the Civil War. Certain topics, it would seem, do not interest the author; boundary questions is one. The negotiations upon boundaries resulting in the treaty of 1783 are barely touched upon. The "important" portions of that treaty printed in the appendix do not contain article II. Nor is the author much concerned with commercial treaties aside from the question of reciprocity. The treaty-draft of 1776 is not mentioned, while many important agreements are merely named in the concluding paragraphs of several chapters. Upon the Isthmian policy and the interests of the United States in the Pacific the chapters are excellent. Again, the writer has antipathies, or at least suspicions, not very violent perhaps, but still influencing his work. At first it is Great Britain, then Russia, and in the last chapters Germany. Some might say, as to the last, that the wonder is that the suspicion is not greater. The Samoan question is reinterpreted in this respect. It is, however, in connection with the Hay-Herran Treaty (II. 316-318) that the German spectre is most materialized. If it be true, as Mr. Johnson insists, that German intrigue helped to determine Colombia's rejection of the treaty, no other excuse for "taking" the Panama canal strip would be necessary. In an earlier work he had characterized the "intrigue" as "legitimate".¹

There are errors of detail to be pointed out. The provision in the treaty of 1783 for the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi was not

¹ *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal* (1906), p. 136.

"foolish", as British territory touched that river (I. 128). "Free ships, free goods" was adopted in the first treaties with France and the Netherlands (I. 132). Russia was certainly not "reluctant" to join the Armed Neutrality (I. 101). That it was because of America that Frederick the Great first put forward "free ships, free goods" (I. 202) is likely to cause confusion. That our title to Louisiana included Texas (I. 377) is of course not now seriously held. Receptivity concerning the line of 49° was intimated by Great Britain before February 26, 1846 (I. 424). Jackson did not oppose the Dutch canal concession because it violated the Monroe Doctrine (I. 431); the Know-Nothing party was not really a part of the Whig party (I. 526); and Austria's action in the Koszta case was not a "violation of Turkish neutrality" (I. 532). The United States had not with consistency "long advocated" the second and third articles of the Declaration of Paris (I. 535). To say that in 1861 Russia "had never formally recognized the independence of the United States" (II. 22) discloses a misapprehension as to what constitutes formal recognition. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 is confused with the Brussels Conference of 1890 (II. 134). Many would disagree with the contention that the pursuit of the *Itata* was "monstrous folly"; that consisted in seizing her in Chilean waters (II. 196). To say that the United States had a protectorate over Cuba since 1840 (II. 237) is simply to misuse the word. The same looseness of expression appears in the statement that Spain in 1898 "reserved the privilege of privateering, although only with the armed cruisers of her navy" (II. 260). Extending the list would only create a false impression. After all, the work is a readable and, in the main, a trustworthy popular account of American diplomatic history.

JESSE S. REEVES.

American Debate: a History of Political and Economic Controversy in the United States, with Critical Digests of Leading Debates.

By MARION MILLS MILLER, Litt.D. In two volumes. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. xiii, 467; ix, 417.)

In 1913 the author of this work brought out a fourteen-volume compilation entitled *Great Debates in American History*, which "presented in topical order the text of Congressional and other public discussions of the chief issues in our politics from the debates on the Stamp Act . . . down to the close of the Taft Administration". The "ethics of his editorial position", however, required him to exclude from that work "accounts of political events concerning which there were no debates, and to refrain from comments on the validity of the arguments set forth and on the skill of the debaters"; and he accordingly

resolved to produce at a later time a short but continuous political history of the United States largely but not exclusively as reflected in debates on issues of supreme importance, which work should serve also as a manual upon the Art of Debate, to this end containing an exposition of forensic principles and practice as exemplified in the logic and parliamentary finesse of our greatest statesmen.

The result is the work before us, intended to serve as (1) an historical account of main subjects of public discussion in the United States down to the beginning of the Civil War; (2) an exposition of the chief political and economic principles which have been incorporated in the legislation and the governmental institutions of the country; (3) a history of American political issues and events; (4) a treatise upon the art of debate as exemplified in American forensic contests; (5) a guide to the Congressional records and the best compilations of debates and individual speeches; (6) a collection of examples of American eloquence; and (7) a collection of short biographies of leading statesmen, with appreciation of their abilities, particularly as debaters (I. viii-x).

It would be pleasant to be able to commend Mr. Miller's performance of his ambitious task. A careful examination of these two volumes, however, leaves much doubt as to their practical usefulness. To begin with, the large promise of the preface, as quoted above, seems to have been only in part fulfilled. The first eight chapters of volume I., for example, deal respectively with Writs of Assistance, the Stamp Act, the Supremacy of Parliament, Massachusetts *vs.* Parliament, Congress *vs.* Parliament, Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. Then follows, however, a sweeping chapter entitled Federalist *vs.* Republican, and another entitled National Defense, the latter carrying us to the close of the War of 1812; then the author jumps to Nullification and Secession, to each of which topics he devotes a chapter. One naturally looks to volume II. to bridge some of the chasms, only to find that volume II. deals with but two subjects, land and slavery. It would be superfluous to enumerate the long list of important topics which such a selective treatment ignores.

Nor are the other promises of Mr. Miller's preface much better carried out. The "treatise upon the art of debate" reduces itself, aside from a few comments, to brief foot-note allusions to the bearing of various ante-bellum arguments upon such a heterogeneous list of current questions as the tariff, the single tax (Mr. Miller appears to be especially interested in a reform of the land system as a step towards the abolition of poverty), woman suffrage, the recall of judges, trade unionism, trusts, philosophical anarchism, polygamy, direct legislation, the union label, New Thought, and the rights of neutrals in the present war. To describe the work as "a guide to the Congressional records" is to use that phrase in an unfamiliar sense. On the other hand, to speak of these volumes as "a collection of examples of American eloquence" is hardly correct, for the reason that few of the extracts are long enough to do justice to either the argumentative or the oratorical powers of the persons quoted. As for the short biographies, they are dropped into the narrative wherever the names happen to occur, destroying almost beyond repair the little continuity which a text bristling with quotations and summaries possesses.

Fortunately for those who may use the work, positive errors of state-

ment are few and relatively unimportant. One looks in vain, however, for evidence that the historical literature of the last twenty-five years has been much used. An author who to-day relies upon Story's *Commentaries* for his account of colonial beginnings, or who cites Irving's *Knickerbocker* as a reliable picture of Dutch New York, must be used with caution. Erskine did not, of course, "withdraw" the Orders in Council (I. 324), and the federal government did not abolish slavery during the Civil War (II. 289, note). If, as Mr. Miller seems to think, the claims of Pelatiah Webster have been overstated, why does he nevertheless quote with hearty approval Mr. Hannis Taylor's praise of the Webster plan as "the epoch-making achievement which must forever stand forth as a beacon-light in the world's political history"? And how came it that the retrocession of Louisiana to France in 1800 "alarmed" the United States and "contributed greatly to the election of a Republican Congress and President" (I. 300), when the fact of the cession was not known until 1802?

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy. By CHARLES A. BEARD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. ix, 474.)

THIS volume does not profess to be a history of the United States, or even of politics in America, during the administrations of Washington and Adams. It is rather a series of historical essays upon some phases of the politics of that period, roughly chronological in arrangement. Three of them discuss the measure of continuity in political parties from 1787 to 1801, six set forth how the Federalists used the new government to benefit capital at the expense of agriculture, and five trace the consequent political triumph of the agrarian Republicans.

Starting from the contention of his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* that the ratification contest was not primarily a war over abstract political ideas, but over concrete economic issues, chiefly between the capitalistic and the agrarian classes, and rejecting the theory that party differences evaporated when ratification was complete and that new parties were not formed until 1791, as Bassett has recently asserted, or, as Libby has attempted to prove, until 1798, Professor Beard seeks to establish "a fundamental relation between the division over the adoption of the Constitution and the later party antagonisms between Federalists and Anti-Federalists". He shows in detail (chapter II.) that the affiliations of such members of the Federal Convention as continued in public life were what his assumption would require us to forecast. The Anti-Federalist-Republicans, in accepting the Constitution, had changed their skies but not their minds. They now used the instrument to obstruct those policies, when put into practice, which, when merely foreseen, had moved them to oppose it. The Federalists, on the

other hand, promptly took possession of the new government and addressed themselves to the execution of their predetermined plans.

Indeed, one may say with a high degree of truth that the Constitutional Convention, though it adjourned on September 17, 1787, never dissolved until the great economic measures which were necessary to make the Constitution a living instrument were fully realized. Though separated during the contest over ratification, the leading members were united in the labor of securing the approval of the grand design. When the new government was set up, the great majority of the active spirits met once more as members of Congress, high officers, and judges, and in official capacity gave reality to the words written down at Philadelphia.

So far it is not difficult to agree. But the further assertion that "the government that began with the inauguration of Washington was therefore no non-partisan government" seems an attempt to arm the Suevi with a rifle—an attempt the more unhappy because it was quite unnecessary. The author's substantial contention was sufficiently supported without it, and would have appeared better established had not mere delight of battle with Bassett and Libby seduced him into a useless discussion of party continuity where, as he recognizes, "everything depends upon the definition of the term 'party'", and it is left unclear in what sense, if any, there were parties to define.

The Federalist use of the new government is next passed through the alembic of "economic interpretation". The resultant distillate presents more novelty of form than of substance. Two chapters, compiled one from Republican, the other from Federalist pamphleteers, support the author's finding that Hamilton's measures were primarily capitalistic in character and constituted a direct bid to the financial, manufacturing, and commercial classes to support the new government in return for advantages conferred. Contemporary newspapers would have afforded conciser recognition of the same economic interest and in language less obscured by the fashionable literary overlay of political theorizing. Another chapter examines at length, and not without sympathy, the assertions of Maclay, Jefferson, and Taylor that a "corrupt squadron" in Congress accepted the Federalist bid for votes. It is shown from the Treasury books that in the Senate eleven security holders approved and five disapproved the funding bill, whereas only three non-holders approved, and seven disapproved it. Also that in the House security holders cast 21 of the 32 votes for assumption and only eight of the 29 voted against it. In this analysis the amount of securities held by individuals is not set down, apparently on the theory (p. 177) that no security-owning member, whether a speculator or not, could cast a "disinterested" vote. Subsequently Professor Beard warns us against the temptation to draw too many inferences from such data, and justly remarks (p. 195) that, on the assumption bill at least, "nearly all the members, security holders and non-security holders alike, represented the interests

of their constituencies rather than their personal interests". This instance of divergent judgments does not stand alone. Again and again he seems to insinuate a doubt, perhaps unconscious, concerning the disinterestedness of public men, only to conclude, when, upon review, he squarely faces the issue, that "the charge of mere corruption must fall to the ground". The reader may be pardoned for some uncertainty what is left standing.

After analysing "the economics of the Jay Treaty", and surveying John Adams's *Defence of the American Constitutions* (1787) and John Taylor's *Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* (1814) as examples of the politics of capitalism and of agrarianism, Professor Beard tells how these joined issue in "the great battle of 1800", from which Jefferson emerged victorious not least because he

believed the agricultural interest to be the very basis of the Republican party, although he looked upon the petty merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics as valuable recruits for that organization. . . . [He] regarded the larger capitalistic interests—the security-holding, banking, commercial, and manufacturing groups—as the economic foundation of the Federalist party, and the real enemy against which the forces of the Republican party were to be hurled. While it may not be profitable to join in an interminable argument as to whether this constitutes an economic "interpretation" of Jefferson's politics, men of a practical turn of mind will be satisfied with its significance in the world of fact (p. 435).

Many a biographer, undertaking to display the character of Columbus, has revealed rather his own. It is a result almost inevitable where the facts are unknown. And where the facts are known, but complicated, a similar danger—or opportunity—confronts the commentator. The most conspicuous Federalist who accepted Jay's unsatisfactory treaty in order to avoid a war was among the largest of the security holders. In what measure did fear of a loss in the market determine the conduct of such men? Professor Beard does not answer the question. He does not even ask it. But he believes

it is impossible for any one who runs through the debates in Congress, the public papers of the statesmen of the period, the newspapers, the pamphlets, and the private correspondence to escape the conclusion that the Jay treaty originated in the economic interest of the Federalist party and that the maintenance of the stability of the fiscal system through the continued regularity of the revenues was among the first considerations that appealed to them (p. 295).

As to the other considerations he is silent. While it may not be profitable to join in an interminable argument as to whether this constitutes an economic "interpretation" of Washington's politics, men of an historical turn of mind will be satisfied with its significance

"or else [they] will not
I cannot be positive which".

CHARLES H. HULL.

Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821. By FLOYD CALVIN SHOEMAKER, A.B., A.M. (Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Printing Company. 1916. Pp. 383.)

MR. SHOEMAKER'S book is an excellent piece of research. The first chapter reviews the history of the organic acts of 1805, 1812, and 1816. The second chapter sets forth the petitions for statehood that resulted in the passage by Congress of the enabling act. The third chapter presents an exhaustive inquiry into the state of public opinion in Missouri in 1819 respecting slavery restriction and shows how bitter was the resentment against the proposed dictation of Congress. Chapter IV. gives an account of the campaign for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, resulting in the overwhelming victory of the pro-slavery party. Mr. Shoemaker minimizes the influence which the proposed restriction by Congress must have had in strengthening the pro-slavery sentiment. The fifth chapter analyzes the personnel of the constitutional convention and gives particular account of its ablest members. Chapter VI. reconstructs, as well as can be done from the meagre record, the work of the convention in framing the state constitution. From the shortness of the time within which the first draft of the constitution was reported, the conclusion is irresistible, although Mr. Shoemaker does not suggest it, that the "lawyer junto" must have come to the convention with a ready-made constitution in their pockets. Chapter VII. is an excellent bit of historical criticism. From a painstaking analysis of the votes in the convention, Mr. Shoemaker deduces a list of men whom he regards as most influential in giving the constitution its final form, and these he calls the authors of the constitution. The eighth chapter summarizes a longer study that Mr. Shoemaker has published elsewhere on the sources of the Missouri constitution. He finds that it was largely based upon the constitutions of Kentucky, Alabama, Illinois, and Maine, with liberal use of a number of others. The ninth chapter covers the organization of the state government. Chapter X. treats the second Missouri compromise rather briefly. Possibly for the reason that he is telling the story from the standpoint of the state, Mr. Shoemaker omits to point out that the second compromise was the result of the ratification of the Florida treaty. The last chapter gives an account of the passage of the "solemn public act" by the special session of the legislature, and of the final admission of the state. In this connection Mr. Shoemaker makes the important discovery that Guyer pointed out the error in the designation by Congress of the objectionable clause of the state constitution, in a speech in the legislature that was reported in the *Missouri Gazette* for June 13, 1821. The book closes with a documentary appendix. The constitution is reprinted from the pamphlet edition printed in Washington in 1820. Mr. Shoemaker might have used the manuscript copy, which was rescued some years ago from the House files, and is now in the House Miscellaneous Papers in the Library of Congress.

The book is marred by some rather unhappy phraseology and a somewhat provincial point of view. The proposal to bound the state on the north by the Missouri River, Mr. Shoemaker denounces as "chimerical", "selfish", "abortive", and "unpatriotic". The proposal may have been unwise but the language used is stronger than the circumstances warrant. Mr. Shoemaker insists that Missouri became a state upon the enactment of her constitution. She certainly was not a state in the Union and quite as certainly not out of the Union. It is strange that, after the lapse of nearly a century, the course of those who opposed the unconstitutional provision in the Missouri constitution should still be stigmatized as "perfidious". There are but few erroneous statements of fact in the book and but few typographical errors. The note on page 219 is wholly incorrect. Jefferson was not the author of the first constitution of Virginia, the exclusion of the clergy from the assembly and privy council did not originate with him, and the political disabilities of the clergy in Kentucky did not extend beyond exclusion from the legislature. There is such constant reference to the counties of Missouri that maps showing their location and extent during the period covered are greatly needed.

F. H. HODDER.

The Financial History of Boston, from May 1, 1822, to January 31, 1909. By CHARLES PHILLIPS HUSE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics and Social Science in Boston University. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. Pp. ix, 395.)

DR. HUSE's careful study of the finances of Boston, and of the changes in its government, deserves high credit for clearness, and as a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the financial growth of an American city. But I cannot join in his praise of many of the changes in the charter. It yet remains in controversy whether the increased powers of the mayor have been wholly a gain, and Dr. Huse leans exclusively to one side, without sufficient representation of alleged defects.

Democratic tendencies kept Boston for two hundred years from becoming a city, though other places of less population adopted this form of government. But in 1821, when there were 45,000 people in Boston and it no longer was possible for them to gather together in town meetings, it reluctantly made the change. In place of town meetings a common council was established of forty-eight men; and, in place of the selectmen, a mayor and eight aldermen. Unfortunately, by an amendment, the mayor and aldermen became a part of the council as a separate board. The common council continued to be elected by wards; and the aldermen sometimes by wards, and sometimes at large. The election at large was upon the claim that it would be harder to elect

corrupt men than when control of a ward only was necessary; and, on the other hand, the election by wards was upon the claim that some of them never would elect such men. The British elect councilmen from small districts; and one reason for their high quality is because the citizens know the candidate personally.

Dr. Huse condemns this form of government, "which commingled legislative and administrative powers". Nevertheless it prevails in Europe, and it is the principal feature of the commission system, which so many cities have adopted. May it not be that our failure was due to the division of authority into two distinct branches of the council, rather than because both legislative and executive powers were administered by the same body?

Under this charter the mayor was not given any separate control, his position being similar to that of the president of a corporation, a presiding officer at the meetings of his associates, having no other power than such as is given by them. Thirty years later he was placed outside the aldermen, and given the right to veto "all acts which involved an expenditure of money", but a two-thirds vote could pass an act over his veto. In 1909 he was given an absolute veto, an authority without parallel in any other free community.

The financial history, from the adoption of the charter to the Civil War, shows two departures from the ideals of town government: large expenditures, and a permanent debt. These changes came from the new conveniences demanded by the growth of the city, especially sewer and water systems. When the introduction of water was under consideration a group of capitalists were anxious to undertake the venture, but the city council was persuaded by Mayor Quincy to act itself. Attention was given also to a like ownership of gas, which was furnished by a company organized in 1823. But the business had been conducted "in a manner entirely satisfactory to the public", and the council let the question rest. It was revived in 1856 when a committee reported to the council that water and gas, the two great necessities of a city, should never be in the hands of private corporations.

Another financial change in this first period appears in the diminishing importance of the poll tax, since with the growth of fortunes taxes naturally were levied more upon property and less upon polls. Even then, as now, the rich sought to escape such taxation. In 1848 Mayor Quincy said: "Some of our wealthiest citizens, from their interest in agriculture or other reasons, found it convenient to leave the city in the month of April."

The period from 1860 to 1873 saw great increase of expenditures, because of the war and the street improvements required by the Great Fire of 1872. From 1874 to 1886 was a period of retrenchment. Since then expenditures have largely been made, not by direct action of the city but by that of the state, which has ordered rapid transit, new streets, and new schoolhouses, in the city itself, and water, sewer, and park systems

in the metropolitan district, of which Boston is the principal part. It is in this period that the General Court has done the great bulk of its legislating for Boston, a power which formerly was not claimed by it, except very rarely and then only upon petition from the city; a violation of home rule and a distinct loss to the educational power of self-government.

The Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams. By HARVEY TOLIVER COOK, Litt.D., Professor of Greek, Furman University. (New York: Country Life Press. 1916. Pp. 338.)

To the House of Representatives of the Twelfth Congress, which met in November, 1811, there came as one of the delegation from South Carolina, David Rogerson Williams, who was elected for the Darlington district on the upper Pedee River. Though overshadowed by the more brilliant trio, Cheves, Calhoun, and Lowndes, Williams, who had previously sat in the Ninth and Tenth congresses, played in the Twelfth a rôle of considerable importance as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. After the declaration of war he accepted a commission in the United States army but resigned in 1813. In the following year he became governor of South Carolina. After one term he retired to private life, but emerged again in 1824 to accept election to the state senate. From 1827, when his term as senator expired, until his death in 1830, he took an active part in the opening stages of the nullification controversy, in which, while he denounced the tariff, he opposed radical action and urged that South Carolina resist the North by making herself economically independent rather than by an appeal to force.

In the volume under review the account of the earlier part of General Williams's political career, given by the author, Professor H. T. Cook of Furman University, is rather less satisfactory than that which describes the last three years of Williams's life. Doubtless this is due to the possibility of a richer documentation for the later years. Both in the text and in the appendix some interesting political letters are printed. But the chief value of the work is due to the fact that it affords many side-lights on the economic and social life of South Carolina. The settlement of the Welsh on the Pedee, the founding of the St. David's Society to establish a public school in the parish for the education of the youth of all Christian denominations, and the close connection between the South Carolina Baptists and Rhode Island College, later Brown University, are topics well worth the investigation which the author has given to them. Even more interesting is the picture of General Williams as a great landowner and farmer, who possessed the capital and the intelligence to experiment with varied agriculture, with the improvement of transportation, and with manufactures. The results of Professor Cook's study lend further confirmation to the belief that the days of the old South witnessed many

sturdy efforts to bring about that development of industrial life which characterizes the new South. General Williams's cotton-mill on Cedar Creek, which was begun in 1812, and which employed negro operatives, was a pioneer in this region, although not the first to be established in South Carolina. Professor Cook indicates some of the causes for the failure of manufactures to become widely successful—the difficulties of transportation, which sadly limited the market for the manufactured commodities; the constant migration from the state in search of new cotton lands; the prejudice against manufactures that existed and that was fostered in South Carolina, on political grounds; and, he might have added, the intense individualism which made business co-operation difficult.

The book is printed with excellent type and paper, but a map of the Pedee country, which would be very helpful, is wanting, and there is no index. A portrait of General Williams constitutes a frontispiece. The punctuation, style, and construction of the work leave much to be desired. In these respects it compares very unfavorably with Mrs. Ravenel's *Life and Times of William Lowndes*, which covers about the same period of South Carolina history. Professor Cook's work serves, however, to correct a slip of Mrs. Ravenel's, who refers to Williams as present in the Eleventh Congress; and one found in Hunt's *Calhoun*, in which Williams is described as a United States senator. A particularly annoying feature of the volume is the inclusion of bibliographical references, in parentheses, in the body of the text: one example of this practice, on page 167, may produce on the reader's mind an amusing effect not intended by the author. The expression "a bunch of Solons" will hardly be deemed to be of English undefiled; and one is amazed that a South Carolina writer should misspell the names of Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel and Professor Yates Snowden.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina. By CHAUNCEY SAMUEL BOUCHER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History in Washington University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. xi, 399.)

PROFESSOR BOUCHER'S painstaking labor has produced a book which no one will hesitate to call good of its kind. But what is the precise value of the kind? It is of the type that intervenes in the literature of a subject between the works of exploration and the definitive works. It is a work of accretion, increasing fruitfully our knowledge of the detail of the subject but nevertheless leaving it, in its main lines, as it has generally been left by the exploring works, vague.

In the present instance Professor Boucher has accumulated from newspapers and manuscripts a large quantity of detail not familiar to the general student. And yet, it is not the sort of detail that can alter

materially the general impression of the subject as it was left, a few years ago, by Mr. Jerve, in his life of Hayne. At the close of this volume, we come out, with Omar, at the same door where we went in.

The failure to open another door springs from two faults common to much recent work in history. Diligence is mistaken for originality, and there is a lack of imagination. For many of us the time has come to protest against that heaping up of detail, without evaluation of its significance, which has characterized so many doctoral dissertations. Especially, the quotation of newspapers, and of anything at all which is still in manuscript, is beginning to pall. We are not particularly interested in knowing that some one, whose words have not yet appeared in print, said something which has about the same significance as the words of someone else that have already crept into type. Nor does it strike us as necessarily important to know that a newspaper, or two, or three, said this or that. What we want to know is the significance of these utterances whether old or new. Did a majority, or fifty per cent., or ten per cent., of the people stand behind them? However, this precise evaluation of significance—or the demonstration that it is impossible—not having been insisted on by recent historical criticism, has not occurred to Professor Boucher as of first importance. Under the circumstances he is not to be blamed for still believing in the sacredness of accretion; but it is to be hoped that he will not continue to believe in it.

His lack of imagination appears in his failure to relate cause and effect. To illustrate: the two years between the checking of the movement to nullify in 1830 and its success in 1832 are covered in this volume by a welter of quoted opinion. It is a world of talk. We glimpse in it, to be sure, the organization of political clubs. But no personalities stand out as directors of the course of events. Nor is the action of definite, though impersonal, forces made plain. Which way the current is setting and what is determining its direction, is left obscure. And then—presto, change! a new day, nullification triumphant. But why did it triumph? The earlier presentations of the subject had, at least, their theories of the triumph. Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffy bulked large—especially McDuffy, to whom Calhoun attributed such crucial influence! Professor Boucher touches them all in the most incidental manner and devotes more space to various minor newspapers than to any of the three. One cannot help suspecting that he has been guided unaware by a subconscious resolve not to follow in anybody's footsteps. This is not a gracious attitude in a scholar. But pass that by. Hitherto, a famous speech by McDuffy, in May, 1821, has been regarded as a great landmark in the nullification controversy, while a very able speech by William Drayton, in July of that year, is far less known. Professor Boucher touches in a casual way on McDuffy's speech, but makes no attempt to evaluate his influence, and quotes from Drayton's speech at comparative length. This is symptomatic of his method.

The book is not a history of the nullification controversy; it is a valuable, though limited, contribution to the data upon which a history might be based.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor in the University of Illinois. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 1915, vol. XV.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. 382.)

THE present *Jahrbuch* offers a budget of interesting materials concerning the German refugees of the nineteenth century. The volume opens with the imposing figure of Francis Lieber, one of the best examples of the scholar and expert in American public life. A sketch of Lieber's career and achievement is given by the pen of Ernest Bruncken, who weighs carefully and critically the authoritative value of the larger works, *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*, *Manual of Political Ethics*, *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, and the *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* (originally issued as *General Order No. 100*, by the War Department). Perhaps a little more space might have been devoted to Lieber's stimulating essays, but instead of this we find a true valuation of Lieber's educational ideals, within the lecture room and beyond, as when his letter to Sumner, December 24, 1864, is quoted: "I am the sworn enemy of all absolutism, and I trust my friends will remember of me this one thing, that I am the one who first spoke of democratic absolutism." Mr. Bruncken calls attention to the large collection of Lieber manuscripts in the possession of the Johns Hopkins University, much of which has not been published or utilized.

The editor of the *Jahrbuch*, Professor Goebel, next inserts two "forgotten" speeches of Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel, which clear up a question so often raised at the present time. Their general subject is, how a German in this country may cherish the memory and ideals of his native land without becoming disloyal to his adopted country? The speech of Carl Schurz, delivered in 1891 at Carnegie Hall at an anniversary celebration of the landing of the first Germans in the ship *Concord*, is a memorable effort, an eloquent guide to good citizenship for the foreign element not only from Germany but from all other countries as well. The speech is not contained in the comprehensive collection of *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, edited by Frederic Bancroft.

Another of the leaders, the "forty-eighter" Karl Heinzen, is portrayed by P. O. Schimerer as "Reformer, Poet, and Literary Critic". He is shown to be in certain aspects a forerunner of Nietzsche. Too radically individualistic to be constructive, too aggressively independent

to make a success of his numerous journalistic ventures, he was still a giant intellectually, and far in advance of his time.

F. J. Herriott, who has written a number of articles that show how the balance of power lay in the German vote of the Middle West in the Lincoln campaign of 1860, contributes to the present volume "The Premises and Significance of Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Theodor Canisius". In this letter Lincoln gives an unequivocal reply as to his position on the Massachusetts Amendment:

Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the *elevation* of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to *degrade* them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I should favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of *white* men, even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself.

The "Recollections of a Forty-Eighter", by Maj. Fred. Behlendorff, Saxon revolutionist, present a very realistic picture of the morale, equipment, and generalship existing in the early days of the Civil War in Missouri. Behlendorff took part in the capture of the St. Louis arsenal for the United States government, and in the Missouri campaigns under Lyon and Sigel, subsequently enlisting in the 13th Illinois Cavalry and promoted to the rank of major in 1864.

An interesting literary contribution is contained in the article by E. H. Zeydel, on "The German Theatre in New York, 1878-1914", in which the principle of co-operation, as opposed to the starring system, is emphasized as the life-work of Heinrich Conried. His unfulfilled aim was the founding of a national American theatre with this principle in view. An unpublished letter of Paul Follen (brother of Carl Follen of Massachusetts), leader of a German emigration to Missouri in the thirties, presents a vivid picture of the hardships of pioneer life on the banks of the Missouri in the early days of settlement. A German song of 1778, relating to mercenaries in America (C. A. Williams), is of antiquarian interest, but sounds a Tory note hardly in keeping with the spirit that pervades the rest of the volume.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Filibusters and Financiers: the Story of William Walker and his Associates. By WILLIAM O. SCROGGS, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in Louisiana State University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. x, 408.)

THIS is an authoritative narrative of filibustering activities of the decade before 1860. It is a story of long-forgotten episodes and achievements, full of personal daring and startling incidents, and portrayed with considerable vivacity although sometimes with tedious detail. Incidentally it throws side-lights on the spirit of the American nation and the policy of the American government. Parts of it have already appeared in the *American Historical Review* (X. 792) and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (I. 198).

It is essentially a biography of William Walker, lawyer, physician, journalist, politician, and soldier of fortune, America's greatest filibuster, who by mere forceful personality attained high power, from which he fell, a victim of his own audacity. After considering the varied and complex forces which explain filibusterism, it traces Walker's early attempt to establish a republic in Lower California and Sonora, his bold designs in Central America culminating in his conquest of Nicaragua, his election to the presidency of the country, his plans to secure American investments, his efforts to obtain recognition at Washington, his struggle against the allied neighboring powers whom he forced to ask for European protection, his participation in the struggle of financiers for control of the transit route, his failures and his renewal of determined efforts, his final overthrow through the vengeful influence of Vanderbilt, and his capture and execution through English aid.

In chapter III., Walker's Forerunners, the author gives special attention to the early California filibusters of 1850, but does not mention the Cuban filibusters. In a later chapter he shows that Walker's attention was diverted to Central America by Byron W. Cole, who in 1854 went to Nicaragua with William V. Wells (a grandson of Samuel Adams). Incidentally he introduces various other expeditions, such as that of Henry L. Kinney, who was erroneously supposed to be acting in co-operation with Walker, but who was really a competitor.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is that relating to the activities of the various financial interests seeking to control the transit route: the opening of the route by Vanderbilt, the co-operation of Walker in the Morgan-Garrison scheme against the Vanderbilt interests, the withdrawal of the company steamers by Vanderbilt to prevent recruits from reaching Walker, the later contest of three rival groups of New York capitalists for the franchise of the transit route, which became complicated by a boundary dispute, the threatened intrusion of a French company represented by M. Belly, and the final success and revenge of Vanderbilt, who for a large money subsidy from the rival Panama line kept the Nicaragua route closed.

The closure of the transit, causing a diversion of traffic which perhaps changed the destiny of Nicaragua, was the most important result of Walker's career. His enterprise, by its failure, delayed indefinitely the "regeneration" which he proclaimed as his purpose.

In summarizing Walker's motives, Dr. Scroggs denies the traditional explanation that he was an apostle of slavery extension and asserts that he aimed first to create out of the republics of Central America a strong federated state organized and governed on military principles; then, as dictator of this confederation, he planned to effect the conquest of Cuba; and then to bring to realization the dream of an interoceanic canal. In explaining his decrees in favor of slavery, which were influenced by a visit of Soulé, the author states that he contemplated not annexation to the United States but possibly a future alliance with the Southern States after their secession from the American union.

The author has had training in historical research and his work exhibits evidences of industrious and careful investigation. He has not only drawn from the earlier accounts of Montfur, Perez, Nicaise, and Roche, and various reminiscences, but he apparently has made close examination of American newspapers of the period covered, and has had access to original manuscript archives in the State and Navy departments at Washington. He has also used the Wheeler scrap-books (now in the Library of Congress) prepared by the American minister in Nicaragua, and also a scrap-book compiled by John P. Heiss, at one time a proprietor of the New Orleans *Delta* and later sent by Marcy as a special agent to Nicaragua. Foot-note references are given but references to manuscript "Despatches" and "Notes" are not always complete.

Dr. Scroggs has not exhausted the diplomatic correspondence on the relation of filibustering to international relations. A large amount of unused material bearing upon his subject may be found at the Department of State in other "Despatches" from various Latin-American countries.

The work has some defects. The map opposite page 110 is not adequate (*e. g.*, it should show the "Punta Arenas" mentioned on pages 74 and 325). There are several minor errors of careless diction, loose construction, and infelicitous style. Examples of incoherence of narrative due to "improper reference" are seen on page 19 (line 25) and page 365 (line 6). The most painful example of ungrammatical construction appears at the top of page 397. The book has an index of names and places.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

Abraham Lincoln. By LORD CHARNWOOD. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1916. Pp. viii, 479.)

LORD CHARNWOOD has given us the most complete interpretation of Lincoln as yet produced, and he has presented it in such artistic form that it may well become classic.

Lord Charnwood is a man of many affairs and much learning. He belongs to that Benson family of which the best known to Americans is the producer of Shakespeare's plays, and is of that group in which the late Henry James found such delight. He is neither a professional historian nor a professional writer, and his motive for the present work is quite obviously love of Lincoln. His preparation for it is but inadequately suggested by the extensive and discriminating "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 455-458). It really consists in a complete saturation with material relating to the subject in the largest possible way, and including, as the scholar must continually observe, the results of the most recent investigations and even unpublished conclusions. The subject has been with him since boyhood, and has taken shape in that atmos-

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phere rich with public affairs, literary appreciation, and scholarship, which certain circles in England afford. The contribution is not one of new fact but of deep thought.

This is a testing background against which to throw a rough frontiersman who, unlike so many of his fellows, never acquired polish. It is an equal tribute to subject and author that the latter can write: "Those who read Lincoln's important letters and speeches see in him at once a great gentleman" (p. 404). Nor is this ability to look through surface deficiencies to essentials less revealed by the author's point of view with regard to American history as a whole:

there has been a tendency both in England and in America to look at this history upside down. The epoch of the Revolution and the Constitution has been regarded as a heroic age . . . to be followed by almost continuous disappointment, disillusionment and decline. A more pleasing and more bracing view is nearer to the historic truth. The faults of a later time were largely survivals, and the later history is largely that of growth though in the face of terrific obstacles and many influences that favored decay.

Lincoln is too well known to permit new interpretations of his character which are both true and sensational. Lord Charnwood does not reverse judgments, but his originality consists in his fusion of recognized characteristics into an intelligible whole. Nowhere is this more satisfactory, and nowhere was it more needed, than in the treatment of the relations of Lincoln to his family and his environment. Though not rejecting the supposititious strain of gentle blood through his mother's possible illegitimate birth, to which Lincoln himself attributed much of his difference, the author shows that Lincoln was in many respects the true son of his father. Truly amazing is the picture of the United States during his boyhood (pp. 16-62), out of which Lincoln rises not as a miracle, but as a towering native growth. To describe the awkward age of the frontier with the subtlety of a sophisticated mind, without disdain and without championship, is something which no American writer has as yet accomplished. It is against this background that he discusses with full candor those crudities which so many of Lincoln's biographers shirk. Lord Charnwood does not judge as a pragmatist, he tests these characteristics as to essentials, after eliminating the attendant dross of circumstance, with the strongest acid which a superior civilization can bring. He finds flaws, but not serious ones, and he finds some of those most shunned by eulogists, to have been closely related to wholesome fundamental traits.

Lincoln's training, both conscious and unconscious, is vividly portrayed, but he is brought to the presidency rather less complete than most biographers make him. Nevertheless Lord Charnwood makes here the point with which he closes the book, which, little recognized before the publication of portions of John Hay's diary, gives Lincoln his chief claim to universal interest, that he elected to fight the war not so much

to preserve the United States government, as because he believed that the preservation of that government was necessary to the triumph of democracy. Lord Charnwood's experience in public affairs makes him a keen judge of the scope of Lincoln's responsibility for the conduct of the administration. His recognition of the force of public opinion, of the necessity of trusting subordinates, of neglecting the important for the more important, bring into all the clearer relief the extent of Lincoln's guidance, and his inflexibility on essentials. His inclusion of war strategy among the subjects upon which Lincoln kept a firm and wise grasp, will surprise most readers, but it accords with the most recent studies in military history. The aphorism "So humorous a man was also unlikely to be too conceited to say his prayers", applies to Lord Charnwood as well as to Lincoln, in that he gives serious attention to the religious feeling that developed so strongly in Lincoln as the war progressed. So naturally is this development, as that of Lincoln's character as a whole, evolved with the progress of the war, that the reader is almost as surprised at the final judgment of the author as were the American people at their own in April, 1865.

It should be obvious that this book is not milk for babes. It is intended for the intelligent, whether they are informed or not, but not for the informed unless they are intelligent. It does not give a complete narrative, but discusses almost all Lincoln's serious problems and the serious problems about him. The style is necessarily subtle, but is also clear, and is rich in epigrams. The latter flow naturally and are not strained, unless it be occasionally in the case of some of the associated characters. On these men Lord Charnwood is always interesting, but his knowledge of them tends to diminish as the ratio of their distance from Lincoln increases, and he is less well read with regard to Southerners. He is generally appreciative and seldom unjust, but he does not hesitate to judge harshly, and he perceives too great a distance between Lincoln and any of the others really to please their families.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with Special Reference to Iowa: a Study in Social Politics. By FRED E. HAYNES. (Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society. 1916. Pp. xii, 564.)

THE importance of the rôle played by third parties in American political history since the Civil War is becoming more and more evident as one after another of the propositions advocated by these independent organizations are incorporated into the platforms of the older parties. Students of history and politics, therefore, will welcome this comprehensive work treating of the origin, development, and significance of these movements. The Prohibition and Socialist parties having been excluded from consideration for the sake of unity, the material falls

naturally into five parts covering the Liberal Republican, Farmer's, Greenback, Populist, and Progressive movements, respectively. In each part the story of the developments in Iowa has been segregated from the general account and treated more extensively in separate chapters. As Iowa was the centre of interest in some of the movements dealt with, the result is comparable to a presentation of *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out, followed by an epilogue in which the hero plays his part as a soliloquy. It would seem that either an intensive study of these movements in Iowa, with the essential background sketched in where needed, or a unified account of the subject in the country as a whole without special reference to any single state, would have been a more valuable contribution. Attempting to accomplish two things at once, the author has not succeeded in doing either with entire satisfaction.

Anyone who essays to write recent American history from the sources is confronted by such a mass of material that he is practically forced either to restrict himself to a very limited subject or to forego any idea of doing exhaustive work. In the field of this book there are available, among other sources, hundreds of files of contemporary newspapers, many of them special organs of the movement, considered, and a number of extensive collections of personal papers, notably those of Weller, Weaver, and Donnelly. The latter collection alone numbers over fifty thousand documents and would require several months for a thorough examination. The author appears to have chosen the second horn of the dilemma, however. He has dipped into each of these collections here and there, and he has made extensive use of a limited number of newspaper files, but for the greater part of his general information he has relied upon such contemporary compilations as the *Annual Cyclo-pedia* and upon secondary accounts whenever available. For example, in two chapters covering forty pages, the references to the work of a single secondary writer average one to a page. By the liberal use of quotations, skillfully woven together, the work is given somewhat the character of a mosaic. So far as these embody contemporary sentiment their use may be justifiable, but it is difficult to conceive of any good reason why long quotations from secondary writers should be used to tell a story or to express conclusions which the reader would prefer to have in the author's own words. Not always, moreover, is it clear whether or not the quoted matter represents the convictions of the author and almost always it is necessary to hunt for an obscure reference in the back of the book in order to ascertain the source of the quotation.

In spite of these defects of organization and style, the work is an addition to the literature on the last half-century of American history. It brings together in a single volume a large amount of scattered information little known or used by historical writers, and it makes clear the unity and general significance of the third-party movements. Much monographic work will be needed, however, on various phases of the subject in separate states or sections before an entirely satisfactory general account can be written.

As always with the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, the book is attractively printed and bound and has an admirable index. The failure to include a bibliography is to be deplored, and the grouping of the notes and references at the end would seem to be an unnecessary concession to the popular reader. This sensitive personage, who is supposed to be annoyed by foot-notes, will probably be equally annoyed by the reference numbers, which run to four figures.

SOLON J. BUCK.

Life of Henry Winter Davis. By BERNARD C. STEINER. (Baltimore: John Murphy Company. 1916. Pp. 416.)

SOME time in the revolving years a man child will be born in these United States equipped by happy chance with the unique combination of qualities that will enable him to make intelligible to the ordinary historical mind the politics of the border slave states during the Civil War and the Reconstruction. Pending the arrival of this exceptional person we have to welcome with hope, however surely doomed to evanescence, any volume that may dissipate any small part of the fog that envelops the subject.

Prima facie Dr. Steiner's *Life of Henry Winter Davis* should let in a strong light on some of the darkest places of politics in Maryland. Davis was one of the most prominent lawyers in the state, and he represented a Baltimore district in the House of Representatives at Washington during most of the stirring decade 1855-1865. He had earlier been a Whig, he entered Congress as an American, or Know-Nothing, and when his legislative career ended he was a member of the Union party, though violently antagonistic to the chief of that party, Abraham Lincoln. To the richness of political experience suggested by this variety of party affiliation was added the peculiar flavor of public life that Baltimore contributed at this period. The salient feature of that city's politics was the activity of certain groups of citizens associated under such cheerful and inspiring names as "Plug Uglies" and "Blood Tubs". The methods of these groups fulfilled the suggestion of their names. Davis was an aristocrat by temper and training, distinguished for reasoning and eloquence that made their chief appeal always to the cultivated intelligence. It was much debated in his day how such a man succeeded as he did in dominating the brutal forces of his constituency. Dr. Steiner gives little more information on this point than is contained in one of Davis's speeches in the House of Representatives—a speech that manifests more partizan zeal than historical candor.

The other salient matter of interest in Davis's political life was his bitter hostility to Lincoln, culminating in the famous attack on the President in 1864, when the first project of Congress for reconstruction of the Southern States was blocked by a pocket veto. Dr. Steiner presents quite frankly the leading facts in this whole matter. Davis, though not a

Republican in 1860-1861, was urged for a cabinet position and Lincoln preferred Montgomery Blair. This, added to a perhaps natural antipathy of the Davis temperament and that of Lincoln, seems to have determined the pretty steady criticism directed at the administration throughout the war by the Maryland member. The violent attack on Lincoln in the well-known Wade-Davis manifesto of August 8, 1864, not only failed utterly to discredit the President, but caused the termination of Davis's service in Congress.

To many the most interesting and instructive chapters of Dr. Steiner's book will be the first three. These consist of notes on Davis's early life written by himself shortly before his death. The opening sentences give to the sensitive reader as clear an insight into the writer's character and temperament as all the rest of the book.

I am now forty-eight years old.

The glories of the world have passed before me, but have not lighted on my head.

I have lived during great events in which I have not been permitted to be an actor.

When a man of forty-eight begins a retrospect of his life in this key, one can foresee at once a tale of disappointed ambition. The notes end when Davis has reached the age of twenty-three. The actual events of the boy's life are not distinctive of the man, but the spirit in which they are presented is eloquent of the future.

Dr. Steiner's own chapters are shaped in an endeavor to write the life "in the manner of Tacitus and Plutarch, rather than in that of the modern biographer" (preface). Competent critics will doubtless differ as to the degree of success achieved; but I think there will be substantial agreement that Dr. Steiner's preparatory diet of the Roman and the Greek writers consisted more of the nutritious than the juicy portions of their output. Davis's career is exhibited in a series of chapters fixed by the successive Congresses of which he was a member, and the bulk of the matter in each chapter consists of digests of his speeches, illustrated by numerous quotations. The quotations in many cases are highly interesting.

WM. A. DUNNING.

Caribbean Interests of the United States. By CHESTER LLOYD JONES, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1916. Pp. x, 379.)

IN what the author of this volume calls the Caribbean region, there are eleven countries of distinct nationality; nine colonies, British, French, Dutch, and Danish; and one possession of the United States. The geographical location and commercial importance of the Mexican state of Yucatan would seem to give it a proper place on the list, but it is not included. Professor Jones believes that "the average American citizen does not realize the importance of his country's relations with

other nations, especially with its American neighbors", and is undoubtedly right in his belief. The declared object of his book is "to present in popular form a brief outline of the more important political and economic developments in these countries which have a bearing upon the foreign policy and commerce of the United States".

The book deals, almost exclusively, with the affairs of the last twenty years. It notes the commercial, financial, and political development of the different countries within that time. As the author admits, the field is quite too wide for an exhaustive discussion in a single volume. A comment, rather than a criticism, might be made regarding a lack of balance in the matter presented, that is, somewhat too much on some topics and somewhat too little on others of, perhaps, a greater importance. Thus, a much larger attention is given to the British and other colonial possessions than is given to Venezuela and Columbia combined, notwithstanding their far greater economic and political possibilities. While the points which receive the author's larger attention are of moment, there seems to be a sacrifice of other points of even greater moment.

The opening chapter emphasizes, though not at all unduly, the ever-growing world-importance of the Caribbean area, notably through the fact that, as an approach to the Panama Canal, it will be "the cross-roads of the western world". To this is added comment on the rapid expansion of the commerce of some of the more important countries of that region; on the steady and rapid influx of foreign capital; on the necessity for regarding the health problem as international; and on "the fundamental problem of public order". The chapter closes with the assertion that "the position of the United States, politically and commercially, among the nations of the world will largely be influenced by the way we handle the responsibilities and opportunities which center in the waters of the Caribbean". In the second chapter a few pages referring to our political interest in some of the countries under consideration serve as a prelude to a few pages of statement of the economic and commercial progress of the entire area, and to American investments in parts of it.

Nine chapters are devoted to a more or less detailed review of the relations of the United States to the individual countries and colonies; two chapters to Panama and the Canal; one chapter each to Caribbean products, bananas, oil, harbors and naval bases, and concessions and the Monroe Doctrine. Much useful information is presented, largely through drafts on consular reports and reports of special agents of the Department of Commerce. In any attempt to cover, in 350 pages of text, a field as wide as that into which Professor Jones has ventured, an orderly progress of statement and comment is exceedingly difficult. It cannot be said that this writer has been notably successful in that phase of his work. The impression left by the book is of an effort to crowd too much into its pages; of an *olla podrida* in which the in-

gredients are not well proportioned. A number of quite inaccurate statements call for correction in a possible second edition.

A. G. ROBINSON.

The Single Tax Movement in the United States. By ARTHUR NICHOLS YOUNG, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics and Social Institutions, Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. x, 340.)

It is just thirty years since Henry George as a candidate for mayor of New York received 68,110 votes as against 60,435 for Theodore Roosevelt and 90,552 for Abram S. Hewitt. George had come to New York, only six years earlier, from California, whither he had gone at eighteen years of age, and had followed the occupations of printer, newspaper editor, and inspector of gas meters. His death in 1897 when he was again a candidate for mayor was the occasion of a demonstration of popular veneration which marked him, beyond question, as a leader of men.

George was a man without political ambitions. The sole reason for his nomination in 1886 was that he had written a book which had attracted world-wide attention, setting forth an explanation of the causes of poverty, and proposing a simple remedy by which it might be abolished, and that he had shown extraordinary ability, both as writer and speaker, in sustaining his thesis in a manner that appealed to the popular mind. In the space of a few years he had risen from obscurity and become the leader in a new crusade for human liberty and the welfare of the masses. It was certainly a remarkable occurrence, and it is not strange that George and his followers should have believed that their cause was bound to triumph in the near future.

A generation has passed, however, with few positive results achieved, least of all in the United States. While there can be no doubt that *Progress and Poverty* has gained its place among the books which have exercised a real influence on the course of thought concerning economic and social problems, particularly financial problems, the single-tax movement, instead of assuming a dominating rôle, has become one of the minor movements for economic reform. But whatever the outcome, whether it revives as a strong, independent movement or is absorbed in the general current of economic thought, it has historical importance not only for economics, but in the life of the people of the United States.

Dr. Young has performed a service of real value by showing the influence of the peculiar economic conditions in California, particularly the conditions of land tenure, on the development of George's ideas; the circumstances which explain his rapid rise to prominence in New York and throughout the world; the subsequent course of the single-tax

agitation, kept alive, largely, by a few men actuated by the same sense of devotion, to what they conceive to be a great moral cause, which was characteristic of Henry George himself; and the paucity of measurable results achieved in the United States.

The author seems to have conscientiously consulted all the sources which might throw light either on the development of George's ideas or the course of the single-tax movement, and has treated his subject both sympathetically and sanely. He has apparently done his work so thoroughly that it will not be necessary to go over the ground again. Full references to the sources of information and a bibliography add greatly to the value of the work for students.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

The History of New France. By MARC LESCARBOT. With an English Translation, Notes, and Appendices by W. L. GRANT, M.A., Professor of Colonial History, Queens University, Kingston, Canada; and an Introduction by H. P. BIGGAR, B.Litt. Volumes II. and III. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, VII., XI.] (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1912, 1914. Pp. 584; xviii, 555.)

THE Champlain Society's Lescarbot is an unusually successful demonstration of the possibility, and the advantages, of co-operation in historical editing. Everyone who has been concerned in the production, except the editor, would be likely to insist that Professor Grant was the responsible person, while he in turn has acknowledged in preface and foot-notes how important a share of the work was done by others. The results, which are what really matters, amply justify the large amount of time and effort that have been so unselfishly contributed by all concerned. It may some time seem desirable to reissue Lescarbot, but it will be a very long time before a more readable translation into English is made, or more satisfactory elucidations supplied.

Professor Grant's translation combines fluency with a respectful regard for the critical opinions of those who will compare it with the French text which is reprinted within the same covers. His method, which is easier to recommend than to practise, was to render the text into English rapidly, much as would have been done, and for a portion was done, for the London readers who were contemporary with the original publication. After careful revision this version was submitted to Mr. Biggar, and then to other members of the Champlain Society whose studies had made them familiar with Lescarbot's work. How carefully and freely the doubtful points were discussed is witnessed by scores of notes to the translation. There is nothing to show how often differences of opinion became agreements, but whenever the question, sometimes a difference of actual meaning but more frequently a shading of phrase, was still not wholly solved, a foot-note gives the reader an

opportunity to make his own choice. The editor has very properly kept the final decision on what has gone into the narrative, but he plays most fairly with his public. More than once he subordinates an instinctive feeling for his author's real meaning to the more strictly literal expression preferred by Mr. Biggar or by Mr. Baxter, whose translation of the Cartier narratives is subjected to a thoroughly friendly and most critical examination.

In his phrasing Mr. Grant has tried to recall something of the seventeenth-century freshness of the language. The occasional survival of such a word as "pejoration" in his version gives room for a suspicion that the readers of his manuscript may have helped him to keep away from the danger of more frequent obsolescent usage. A more interesting question of the principles of translation is raised by the use of the term "elk" for the moose, on the ground that the original was written for European readers, to whom that term conveyed a definite connotation which the American word could not have carried. The same theory should have prevented the use of "lacrosse", instead of "la crosse", where the familiar form introduces a more definite picture to the present reader's mind than could have come to the seventeenth-century Parisians, even though Lescarbot desired to describe the prototype of the game as it is played to-day. A similar doubt is raised by the use of "convent" for the home of the men of the Franciscan order, historically quite justifiable, but probably hopeless as an effort to turn back the tongue of English usage. In each of these instances, the reviewer's chance of differing with the translator is lost because a foot-note states the difficulty quite fairly, and leaves the question to anybody's opinion. They are cited because they illustrate so admirably the thoroughness with which the editor and his collaborators have done their work.

This edition of "The French Hakluyt", as Mr. Biggar rather flatteringly dubbed him in this *Review* fifteen years ago, contains, in smaller type at the end of each volume, the French text of the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* as revised and expanded by Lescarbot for publication in 1617. The English version of this text embodies, usually in foot-notes, the passages from the earlier editions of 1609 or 1611 which were omitted or altered in the author's final edition. The notes likewise record the verbal changes which reveal the minute care with which Lescarbot revised his work. Not only have the three editions been compared, but a number of curious variations are noted, which occur in different copies having the same title-page. Similar care has been taken to collate the texts of the Cartier and Champlain narratives from which Lescarbot drew largely. The notes on the variations revealed by these comparisons afford material for deductions which the editor might well have developed in his introduction, showing the skill and trustworthiness of Lescarbot as an historical chronicler.

Hidden at the end of the third volume are a number of appendixes which are likely to elude those who might seek far to find the informa-

tion which they put on record. This is particularly true of the one in which is given the text and translation of two very rare pamphlets in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which throw a new and unlooked-for light on the death of the friend and patron with whom Lescarbot came to Nova Scotia, De Poutrincourt. These have a certain interest in connection with the present work, but one cannot help feeling that they are well-nigh entombed here in a spot hardly likely to be found by those students of seventeenth-century French history who might be very glad to have an opportunity to read them.

The index is sufficient, and annoying. Lescarbot was an erudite person, who delivered public addresses on the Eastern Church at an early age, and he drew freely on vast stores of apparent knowledge. The index will help any one to find some, but hardly all, of his allusions to Carthage and Ceylon, Plautus, Pliny, and Plutarch. There are more than enough of these proper names used by way of comment or comparison to make the index thoroughly confusing as a guide to the real contents of the volumes, and to fill the space that might much better have been utilized, in this society's publication, for ampler assistance for those who are seeking subject references to matters of Canadian interest.

G. P. W.

Oxford Historical and Literary Studies. Issued under the direction of C. H. FIRTH and WALTER RALEIGH, Professors of Modern History and English Literature, University of Oxford. Volume VII. *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada.* By CHESTER MARTIN. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. 240.)

SEVERAL years ago Dr. A. G. Doughty, Dominion archivist, was fortunate enough to secure from the Selkirk family for the Canadian Archives a very interesting and valuable collection of letters, diaries, journals, etc., relating principally to the three colonizing experiments of the fifth Earl of Selkirk. These documents run from 1802 to 1860, and fill some seventy-nine volumes, 20,778 pages of manuscript. Mr. Chester Martin, professor of history in the University of Manitoba, has made excellent use of this material in his study of *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*. Professor Martin has also availed himself of the collections of manuscripts in the Canadian Archives relating to the western fur-trade and the relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. He also had the advantage of access to a number of volumes of original correspondence of the fourth and fifth Earls of Selkirk, in the possession of Captain Hope of St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland.

Professor Martin devotes a chapter to Selkirk's first two experiments in colonization, on Prince Edward Island, and at Baldoon in Upper Canada. The remaining ten chapters of his book describe the chequered

history of the famous settlement on the banks of the Red River, in what is now the province of Manitoba. As the first serious attempt to apply the methods of modern scholarship to the history of the Red River settlement, Professor Martin's book is one of very great interest. He has brought an extraordinary wealth of material to the elucidation of a somewhat complicated question. There can be no doubt that he has succeeded in throwing a great deal of new light on the motives and personality of Selkirk, and of those who were associated with him. It is not so certain that in his account of the long and bitter fight between Selkirk and the Northwest Company, he has been quite fair to the latter. Such characterizations of the company as those he quotes from Selkirk's letters, "one of the most abominable combinations that ever was suffered to exist in the British Dominions", "the N. W. Co. who with the exception of the Slave traders are perhaps the most unprincipled men who ever had to boast of support and countenance from the British Government", "the most detestable system of villainy that ever was allowed to prevail in the British Dominions", may be interesting as illustrating Selkirk's attitude of mind, but are hardly convincing to the impartial student of history. In fact one is left with the impression after reading these interesting chapters that, in his effort to rehabilitate Lord Selkirk, Professor Martin has been less than just to the Northwest Company.

One criticism may be offered as to the form of the study. There seems to be a rather unnecessary repetition of the same quotations. For instance, on page 17 he quotes Selkirk's father, "I have known many lads of sixteen, who, as the vulgar saying is, could have bought and sold you in a market", and Selkirk's own reference to his "natural shyness and cold temper". Both these comments are repeated on pages 192-193. See also pages 19 and 92, pages 35 and 190, pages 55 and 171, pages 79 and 105, pages 95 and 102, pages 102 and 180, pages 103 and 180, pages 126 and 132, pages 143 and 145, pages 181 and 185. While it is a little difficult to see the need of such redundancy, with such a wealth of material as Professor Martin had at his command, the criticism is merely one of form and does not of course seriously affect the value of the book to the student. In an appendix Professor Martin gives the text of the Hudson's Bay Charter of 1670, and several other important documents relating to the fur-trade or the Selkirk Settlement. A very full bibliography and three maps add materially to the usefulness of the study.

Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América: Memorias del General O'Leary. Traducidas del Inglés por su Hijo SIMÓN B. O'LEARY. [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] In two volumes. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Librería. 1915. Pp. 705, 805.)

Ultimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar: Memorias del General O'Leary. Tomo Apéndice, 1826-1829. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 580.)

Independencia Americana: Recuerdos de Francisco Burdett O'Connor. Los publica su Nieto F. [sic] O'Connor D'Arlach. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1915. Pp. 416.)

Memorias del General José Antonio Páez: Autobiografía. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 481.)

Memorias de un Oficial de Ejército Español: Campañas contra Bolívar y los Separatistas de América. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 309.)

Memorias del General García Camba para la Historia de las Armas Españolas en el Perú. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] In two volumes. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 583, 603.)

For the historian of the Spanish-American wars of independence there is an abundance of printed descriptions by participants in the struggle which supplement admirably the manuscript material preserved both in Spain and in the republics that were formerly its colonies. How little these sources have been utilized is patent from the fact that there is no general account of the period based on even a part of them. For such neglect a number of reasons might be adduced. To begin with, Spaniards and Spanish-Americans, it would seem, have preferred to accept domestic productions of partizan pens as altogether satisfactory to their patriotic sentiments. The assertions contained in literature of the sort are held to lie beyond the range of the shafts of criticism; they constitute a species of law and gospel quite incapable of contradiction, and hence appropriate to the cult of "authority" summed up in that expressive, but untranslatable word, "indiscutable". Foreign writers, on the other hand, if they take any interest in the subject at all, either deal with some particular episode or personage, or else content themselves with repeating, or enlarging upon, stereotyped versions that are readily accessible. Rarely have they ventured into the field of original investigation.

A further reason why narrators of the contest that shook off the yoke of Spain from the continents of America have made scant use of the printed memoirs or recollections of the men who took part in the great drama is, that material of the sort has been so difficult to find. The editions were extremely limited, often published in the cheapest form, alike in paper and typography, and issued sometimes in out-of-the-way places. If they happen to have seen the light of day in Spain or in Spanish America, the task of hunting them becomes formidable indeed, when one looks into the majority of the "bibliografías" and "bibliotecas" which purport to furnish information about the products of the press in those areas, subsequent at least to 1810.

Students interested in the period under consideration, therefore, owe a debt of gratitude to Rufino Blanco-Fombona, the distinguished Venezuelan littérateur, now resident in Madrid, for the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* put forth under his editorship, and which is to contain the most important of the available recollections and memoirs. He has rendered this service, not alone as a Venezuelan who venerates the name of Bolívar, nor even wholly as a Spanish-American seeking to evoke the glorious deeds of the patriots of yore, but as a scholar and a man of letters who believes that science and truth can discover no field of human interest richer in its reward to research than the story of what occurred in Spanish America, from the displacement of the rightful king of Spain by the might of Napoleon Bonaparte to the battle that overthrew forever the power of the mother-country on the mainland of the western world. Accordingly, whether the works in question were favorable or unfavorable to the cause of independence, whether written by Spaniards, Spanish-Americans, or foreigners, all are to be included in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, "whenever in any respect they are worthy of preservation".

The volumes in the series which have appeared thus far are altogether superior to the original prints in everything that goes into the art of the book-maker. The volumes are provided also with new titles, both general and special, with some form of introduction appreciative of the author and his work, and occasionally with corrective or explanatory foot-notes by the editor. Except in one case, however, no indication is vouchsafed as to the exact original title, date, and place of publication of the works reprinted, nor indeed any statement that they are reprints at all. Biographical data, whenever any are given, are quite scanty, and sometimes erroneous. Were the editorial comments, also, more copious and more scientifically critical in character, and had each of the texts been followed by an alphabetical index, the series would have been more serviceable to the student.

Daniel Florence O'Leary, the author of the first set of *Memorias*, was a member of the famous British and Irish "legion" that served under the orders of Bolívar from 1818 onward, and that had a very important, if not decisive, share in the struggle against the forces of Spain. After the war, from 1842 to 1843, he became British consul at Puerto Cabello, and from 1843, chargé d'affaires and consul general at Bogotá, where he died in 1854.

While performing his military duties, O'Leary began to collect documentary material that might serve to elucidate the history of the wars of independence, so far as northern South America was concerned, and in particular to portray the career of Bolívar himself. Most of this material, now in the archives at Caracas, was published there, between 1879 and 1888, in thirty-two volumes under the comprehensive caption, *Memorias del General O'Leary*. None of them, properly speaking, contains memoirs. All, except two, are filled with "Correspondencia", "Documentos", "Cartas del Libertador", and other documentation.

The two in question contain an historical treatise based on the foregoing material, written by O'Leary in English and completed in 1840. For the purpose of inclusion in the *Memorias* the manuscript was translated into Spanish, and the work given the vague title of *Narración*, by his son, Simón B. O'Leary, under whose supervision the collection was published. Though numbered separately "tomo primero" and "tomo segundo", the two volumes form in reality the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the *Memorias*. Because of a designation so "colorless, tasteless and sexless" (page 8^s) as *Narración*, the present editor has changed it to *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América*, as more explicit, if not also more grandiose.

In the reprint the "Advertencia", prefixed to the original edition, is inserted as a part of the editor's introduction, and the lengthy and confusing summaries that preceded the individual chapters are omitted. For the sake of readability, furthermore, the unduly long chapters themselves are broken up into sections, and both chapters and sections are provided with titles and dates that are thoroughly distinctive. In the interests of clarity a few changes have been made in the author's footnotes, but in the main the original text of the translation is preserved, even to the misspellings. To the same end, all intercalated documents are printed in a type distinct from that of the text proper, an improvement on the original, which usually spaced them more narrowly without further difference.

Apart from an introductory sketch of colonial institutions and the outbreak of the revolution, the treatise of O'Leary is substantially a biography of Bolívar, along with an incidental description of military campaigns and other events in northern South America, chiefly between 1818 and 1826. Only at the point (vol. I., ch. 22), where the author tells of his arrival at Angostura in March, 1818, as a seventeen-year-old ensign in the "Red Hussars", does a semblance of memoirs begin to appear, and even here the personal element is kept rigorously subordinate. While the reviewer cannot subscribe to the statement of the editor (page 8²), that "among no people, regarding no epoch and no personage does there exist a work superior to this work in respect of the documentation" upon which it is founded, he does share in the main Sr. Blanco-Fombona's estimate of its intrinsic worth as a sympathetic story of Bolívar's life. No other contemporary account of Spanish-American conditions, certainly, rests on so vast an amount of documentary evidence of every sort, carefully sifted and evaluated; although from the standpoint of the military historian, the work lacks the gift of synthesis which reveals the general lines of campaigns, without dwelling unduly upon individual or isolated operations or the activities of irregular bands. The reviewer, moreover, agrees with Sr. Blanco-Fombona in his opinion that the Venezuelan government committed a grievous blunder when it charged Simón B. O'Leary, whose literary talent was quite inferior to that of his father, with the task of converting good

English into indifferent Spanish. Mere "routine, blindness and dullness" (page 8^s), on the part of that government, in fact, still deprive the English-speaking world of the original. Here is a situation that one may hope will not be long in finding a remedy.

At the time of printing the *Narración* a third volume had been prepared, containing a number of notes and diaries and intended to serve as an *Apéndice*, covering the years 1826-1829. It gave an account of O'Leary's missions to Colombia and Peru, of the convention of Ocaña and of the conspiracy against Bolívar in 1828. Because of the inclusion of certain communications alleged to be derogatory to the memory of the Liberator, the printing of the volume was officially suspended, and only a few copies appeared. Thereupon the three volumes of *Cartas del Libertador*, coming after the *Narración*, were numbered respectively XXIX., XXX., and XXXI. in a clumsy attempt to conceal the suppression of the *Apéndice*. In 1914, however, the material of the missing volume was republished at Bogotá by a grandson of O'Leary, and made to include in its entirety a letter from Sucre to Bolívar which had been left incomplete in the original printing; and at Caracas also the loose sheets (*pliegos*) remaining from the first edition were bound and put into circulation. The present work, under the caption, *Últimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar*, is a sort of third edition. Like the Bogotá version it contains the full text of the Sucre letter, and in addition it has a preface by the editor and an "Introducción" taken from Segundo Sánchez's excellent "Bibliografía Venezolanista".

Francis Burdett O'Connor, a nephew of Arthur O'Connor, was another member of the "legion". He came to Venezuela in 1819 as lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of lancers belonging to a contingent raised by John Devereux, an Irishman once resident in the United States. In the battle of Ayacucho he served under Sucre as chief of staff. His *Memorias*, edited by his grandson, Tomás O'Connor D'Arlach, who contributed also a biographical preface, were first published at La Paz, and later at Tarija in 1895. Somewhat more than one-third of the work deals with the period between 1819 and 1824, and touches upon the history of Great Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata; the remainder is concerned chiefly with Bolivia and its international relations up to 1839, at which point the text ends quite abruptly.

Though a man of excellent education, and able to speak several languages fluently, O'Connor was not a *littérateur*. His simple, direct account of his experiences, on the contrary, shows the training and instincts of the soldier. The sincerity of his judgments, also, as well as the impartiality of his opinions and his conscientious endeavor to tell what he thought was true, make most of his statements well worthy of confidence. Where he resorts to criticism, even of a man so idolized as Sucre, he is seldom, if ever, bitter or unreasonable.

José Antonio Páez, the chief of the redoubtable "llaneros" of Vene-

zuela, the hero of "about face" at "La Mata de la Miel", and the man who won the day at Carabobo, wrote his *Autobiografía* as an exile in New York, where he died in 1873. The work, in two volumes, appeared there in three editions, the first in 1867 and the third in 1878. It covers the period from the birth of Páez, in 1790, up to 1850, and, as might be supposed, deals almost wholly with conditions in Venezuela.

The present reprint omits the "Introducción" prefixed to the original, without any allusion to the fact, and substitutes for it the eloquent "Apreciación" of Páez by José Martí, the Cuban poet and journalist. Furthermore it cuts off the *Autobiografía* proper at volume I., chapter XX., or about 1827, when Páez was confirmed in his position as "Jefe Superior" and was contemplating the project of Bolívar to send him to revolutionize Cuba. For these omissions and abbreviations Sr. Blanco-Fombona offers a number of reasons (p. 481, note), which appear to reveal something of an animus of Venezuelan politics against the former chieftain. He declares that the volume is cut off at the moment when Páez exchanged "the sword that was placed in his hands by Bolívar for the presidential cane". This is not strictly true, because Páez did not become president of Venezuela till 1831. Another reason avers that Páez was no longer the "epic Páez, defender of his country and one of its founders . . . but Páez a partizan chief who has deserved at times the severe recriminations of history". Be this as it may, it seems only fair that the old Venezuelan warrior should have been afforded, in his "Introducción", no less than in the chapters following the twentieth, a chance to defend himself in his own characteristically vigorous, verbose, and withal imperious, fashion that seldom evinces either signs of vanity or indications of a desire to belittle his contemporaries. Still another reason adduced by the editor in this connection states that the later chapters do not "concern America at large so much as the history of Great Colombia to 1830, and thereafter the history of Venezuela". If this be the case, then *mutatis mutandis* the *Memorias* of O'Connor ought similarly to have been cut off by nearly two-thirds. Moreover, the *Autobiografía* does not extend to the "latest years" of the life of Páez, but only to 1850.

On the royalist side of the struggle for independence one of the most interesting of the series of recollections of the times is that composed by Rafael Sevilla, a captain of infantry who accompanied the expedition of Morillo to Venezuela in 1815, and who fought in the campaigns up to 1821, when the Spanish forces surrendered at Cumaná. Later he continued his military career in Porto Rico, where he died in 1856. Sevilla's work was first published there in 1877 under the caption, *Memorias de un Militar sacadas de un Libro Inédito y arregladas por D. José Pérez Morris*, and subsequently, in 1903, at Caracas and Maracaibo, with a prologue by J. R. Díaz Valdeparés. The latter edition is the one from which the present reprint is made. To the narrative proper are appended an account of the battle of Trafalgar, which the Spanish officer wit-

nessed as a ten-year-old lad from the housetops of Cadiz, and also a list of his services and honors.

Without pretense to literary ability, often lacking in correctness of style, permeated with a strong royalist bias and typically Andalusian in its bits of exaggeration, Sevilla's account nevertheless is a simple, ingenuous, and readable story of "episodes ridiculous and sublime, of picturesque scenery and characters, of hours of laughter and tears". It is especially valuable because of the picture it draws of Pablo Morillo, the great Spanish soldier, to whose skill and bravery, as well as to the memory of the men who followed him on South American battlefields, Sr. Blanco-Fombona's "Apreciación" pays a graceful and eloquent tribute.

Like Sevilla, Andrés García Camba came to Venezuela with Morillo. Under that officer he served as chief adjutant of hussars. Later, as brigadier in command of the Spanish cavalry, he fought in the battle of Ayacucho. Still later, on his retirement to Spain, he was promoted to a generalship, became acting minister of war and eventually was appointed captain-general of the Philippines. His recollections were first published at Madrid in 1846 under substantially the same title as they bear in the present reprint; but the latter lacks the map of South America which appeared in the second volume of the original.

So far as the form of the work is concerned, the *Memorias* of García Camba resemble those of O'Leary. Instead of being memoirs in the proper sense, like the accounts written by O'Connor, Páez, and Sevilla, they take the shape of an historical description of the occurrences in America between 1809 and 1825, based partly on a somewhat superficial study of documents, of which many are given in the text and appendix, and partly also on recollections. They have independent value only for the period from 1815 onward. Of all the treatises prepared by Spanish officers, however, García Camba's is probably the best. Particularly is this true for the precision with which it portrays the military operations in Peru, and for the service it renders in checking the *Memoirs* of William Miller, the Englishman.

As pointed out by Sr. Blanco-Fombona, the work differs from all of its fellows in having had a political motive for its composition. Several of the Spanish officers who figure in it, and who had fought during the final struggles in Peru and Bolivia, later occupied high official station in the mother-country. Canterac, for example, became military governor of Madrid; Rodil, president of the council of ministers; and Espartero, regent of the kingdom. García Camba's *Memorias* were written to defend their deeds and the memory of the fallen, against the sneers of the politicians of Madrid, or "Persians" as they were termed, who had seen fit to dub the Spanish soldiers of the last days in America, "Ayacuchos".

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

The Origins of the Islamic State. Being a translation from the Arabic accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historical Notes, of the *Kitâb Futûḥ al-Buldân* of al-Imâm abu-l 'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn-Jâbir al-Balâdhuri. By Philip Khûri Hitti, of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, Gustav Gottheil Lecturer in Columbia College. Volume I. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. LXVIII., no. 163.] (New York, Columbia University, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1916, pp. 518.) The present volume is a translation of part (316 out of the 474 pages) of de Goeje's edition of the Arabic text of al-Balâdhuri's *Kitâb Futûḥ al-Buldân* published in 1866, and is a valuable addition to the list, still far too short, of English translations from the Arabic. After a short "Foreword" by Professor Gottheil follows a table of contents (pp. vii-xi). Then comes (pp. 1-11) the translator's introduction entitled: "Arabic Historiography with Special Reference to al-Balâdhuri". As long as the translator frankly admits in this (see especially pp. 3, 7, 8) some of the defects of Arabic historians, he will not feel surprised if some readers should feel that the title of this volume is somewhat misleading, especially as no translation of the Arabic title appears on the title-page, or indeed elsewhere in the book, so far as the reviewer has been able to determine. To one unacquainted with histories by Arabic authors the title chosen might well seem to promise more of a philosophic treatment of the history of the origins of the Islamic state than he will find. However, the attentive reader of Dr. Hitti's book will find plenty to reward him, for by his study of this Moslem historian of the ninth century he will ever after have a better understanding of the problems which confront the student of early Moslem history.

The translation is divided into ten parts entitled, respectively: Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Northern Africa, Andalusia, Islands in the Sea, Nubia, Al-'Irâk and Persia, Media [Al-Jibâl]. These parts are subdivided into chapters and these again into sections. These sections have each a descriptive title printed in italics and underlined, which facilitates the use of the volume. Notes are put at the foot of the page. Pages 495-515 inclusive are occupied by an index of proper names of persons and places, and this in turn is followed by a table of errata (pp. 517-518).

Critical comment will have to be reserved till the publication of the translation has been finished. Meantime however it is quite clear that Dr. Hitti has done a very useful piece of work, and it is a pleasant duty to thank him and Columbia University for this handsome, well-printed volume.

J. R. JEWETT.

Étude Critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son Histoire des Premier Ducs Normands. Par Henri Prentout, Professeur d'Histoire de Normandie à l'Université de Caen. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1916, pp. xxxii, 490.) The biographies of the early Norman dukes composed by Dudo of St. Quentin early in the eleventh century constitute the standard history of Normandy down to 996 and one of the most ample narratives which has reached us for that obscure period of European history. Warmly defended by its last editor, Jules Lair, Dudo's work has been regarded with increasing suspicion by recent scholars, but a detailed critical examination of the whole has heretofore been wanting. This need has now been supplied by M. Prentout, who examines chapter by chapter and point by point the problem of Dudo's sources and compares his account closely with the statements of annals, sagas, and lives of saints. The result is highly damaging for Dudo's authority. So far as his assertions are specific, they can usually be traced to the contemporary annals of northern France, notably Flodoard, which are supplemented by elements drawn from popular tradition and the *chansons de gestes*, and considerably amplified by Dudo's sonorous phrases in prose and verse. The order of events is confused by biographical treatment, and the whole is distorted into a rhetorical panegyric of the ancestors of the author's patron, Duke Richard II. The work contains singularly little on Norman life and institutions, even of the author's own time; the lack of personal information is strikingly shown by the relative fullness of the account of Richard I. down to 966, where Flodoard stops, and the meagre pages on the duke's later years, respecting which Dudo might have obtained contemporary knowledge. Although used by all subsequent writers, Dudo is not an original source, and what he adds to known authorities can be used only with the greatest caution.

Such, in brief, are M. Prentout's general conclusions, to which the reviewer fully subscribes. His volume also contains a series of important studies upon various episodes in the history of the tenth century, many of which were discussed more briefly in 1911 in his *Essai sur les Origines du Duché de Normandie* (*American Historical Review*, XVII. 391). Here and there further documentary evidence could have been used to advantage. A charter of Richard II. for St. Ouen expressly states that the grants of Rollo and William Longsword were not put in writing (Valin, *Le Duc de Normandie*, p. 145, where *minime* is mistranslated). Charters of Richard I. are so few that one is surprised to see no mention of the one for Fécamp (*Neustria Pia*, p. 208). Reference to Liebermann's *Gesetze* would have given a later date to Ethelred's privilege to London. The disputed sense of *funiculus* as a mode of dividing land is illustrated in a document of ca. 1024, which makes it equivalent to *corda* (Lot, *Études sur Saint-Wandrille*, no. 9); and in this connection account should perhaps be taken of the term *mansloth* in a charter of Robert I. and his uncle Robert for the chapter of Rouen (Le

Prévost, *Mémoires et Notes*, II. 520). The charter of 1015 for the canons of St. Quentin which forms the central point in Dudo's biography deserves remark, having been drawn up by a chancellor Odo otherwise unknown and having been authenticated by the only known example of a seal of the early Norman dukes (*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, IV. 226).

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

A Mediaeval Burglary. A Lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library on the 20th of January, 1915. By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediaeval and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, University Press, 1916, pp. 24.) Under this title Professor Tout tells in a delightfully humorous vein the story of the burglary of the treasury of the king's wardrobe which occurred in 1303. The crime was recorded in several contemporary accounts; but they are so vague and so full of discrepancies that modern writers have hitherto been unable to give a clear account of the actual course of events. Professor Tout has subjected the sources to a more thorough criticism and his narrative is consequently the fullest and most trustworthy which has yet appeared. He, for example, rejects a generally accepted view that Richard Pudlicott, the chief villain, got into the treasury by breaking through the wall of the crypt beneath the chapter-house of Westminster, where the treasury was then located, and suggests that he entered through a door or a window with the connivance of one of the monks. The episode, as Professor Tout treats it, is an excellent illustration of "the slackness and the easy-going ways of the mediaeval man" (p. 21).

For the convenience of those who may consult the critical bibliography at the end of the paper it should be noted that the pages cited in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* should be 282-290 instead of "18-33" and the volume of *Archaeologia* should be XLIV. instead of "LXIV".

W. E. LUNT.

A Short History of English Rural Life from the Anglo-Saxon Invasion to the Present Time. By Montague Fordham, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, with a preface by Charles Bathurst, M.A., M.P. (London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. xvi, 183.) This little book, the outcome of the author's lectures to a group of English villagers, is confessedly popular. None the less it aims at comprehensiveness. Not merely are the varying fortunes of different classes of the peasantry reviewed, but social life, the care of the poor, the up-keep of roads, and the structure of local government are touched upon. Naturally the treatment is slight. Of the three subdivisions, too, the second is perplexing, ascribing as it does to the period between 1381 and 1820 the "reconstruction of rural life".

Doubtless English rural life did undergo transformation between these years; but Mr. Fordham should have made clear how markedly the reconstruction differed from century to century.

The book contains so many questionable statements that it must be used with caution. It would be difficult, for instance, to prove that friction between lords and peasants after 1066 arose from the latter's claim to be "descendants of the original settlers", while the former laid claim "by right of conquest"; that "during the fifteenth century the manufacture of cloth in home industries and small factories spread throughout England"; that "of the land which had remained open at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the greater part, perhaps two-thirds" was enclosed by methods other than act of Parliament (pp. 42, 79, 123). Simpler subjects, such as the agricultural innovations of the eighteenth century or the development of road-building, are more satisfactorily treated, while the beginning and the end of the book are better than the middle of it.

H. L. GRAY.

A Short History of Germany. By E. F. Henderson. In two volumes. Revised edition. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. xiii, 517, vii, 604.) This new edition is a reprint of the old except for the fact that it presents 128 pages of additional material which treat of the German development between 1871 and 1914. The new material reviews the period in question in three chapters devoted respectively to political, economic, and social movements. It is quite certain that in no general German history in the English language will there be found an equal amount of information touching modern Germany. Moreover, the information is of a high order, being the result of a close study of a vast literature—only partially enumerated in the chapter bibliographies—supplemented and corrected by a long residence on the ground. The plainly educational intention of the text is enforced by the fact that every page, especially in the very important economic and social sections, fairly bristles with figures which are convincing without being wearisome. Since in the matter of Germany the world seems to be divided into friends and foes, it is well to declare at once that the author stands with Germany's friends. He may even be called an enthusiast, for occasionally his accumulated facts and figures crackle and blaze like the fireworks of a national holiday celebration. But there is no waiving of the right of criticism and no attempt to conceal difficulties and failures. The Polish, Danish, and Alsatian situations, for example, with their very questionable governmental methods and their occasional crises are set before the reader with fuller detail than is usual even in works that specialize in denunciation. Mr. Henderson's method is to give the data which he has collected with a minimum of comment. That, too, was essentially his method in the older sections. The result is that while the new section is rich in information simply presented and effectively ar-

ranged, it is not a keen analysis culminating in an authoritative interpretation of Germany's position in the modern world. Perhaps the time for such an interpretative effort has not yet come, although it is hard to subscribe to that opinion. Meanwhile the general student will gratefully welcome the abundant information about present-day Germany which the author has pressed into a conveniently small compass.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Genealogical Tables illustrative of Modern History. By Hereford B. George, M.A., F.R.G.S. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged by J. R. H. Weaver. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, pp. iii, lv plates.) This work has been before the public for more than forty years and its editions present something of a genealogy of their own. The plan has remained throughout the same. The plates which at the outset were printed on a folding sheet now appear more effectively in oblong folio form, but the contents have undergone little change except for additions as time required. The tables include the reigning families of Europe and a few of the houses which stood close to the throne. The genealogies are destined for political rather than family use, for the dates of actual rulers give the length of reigns rather than the length of life, and further biographical details will have to be sought in the *Almanach de Gotha*. The system of spelling continues to anglicize foreign proper names wherever convenient, a procedure which on the whole is the most useful, but which to the reader of those tongues often delays rather than facilitates his mental operations. Sixty-four tables and five lists of rulers give a wide scope of information which is brought down to 1915. Recent events have doubtless made a place for the dynasties of Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Bulgaria, Norway, and Greece. The size of the print and the general openness of the tables make them easy to consult and the book should enter upon a further career of usefulness.

The Tudor Privy Council. By Dorothy M. Gladish. (Retford, 1915, pp. iii, 148.) The author of this book undertakes to furnish a complete account of the organization and of the multifarious activities of the English Privy Council under the Tudors. After a short introductory chapter upon the development of the Privy Council in the Middle Ages and a sketch of the institution under Henry VII., she considers its various aspects under Henry VIII. and his children as a whole. One after another she discusses such questions as its composition and procedure, its relations to the sovereign and to Parliament, the scope of its work, and finally its numerous subordinate instruments like the Council of the North and the Court of Star Chamber. In dealing with the organization of the Council and with its instruments she has added little to what has already been written on these matters. Her best opportunity for an original contribution lay in those parts of her subject which con-

cern the work of the Council and its relation to the sovereign and to Parliament. But these are matters which require for their proper illumination far wider research than she has been able to undertake. They certainly cannot be adequately considered, as she has attempted to consider them, without reference to the manuscript material in the English Record Office, to the Foreign Calendars or to D'Ewes's *Journals of Parliament*, to say nothing of such an obvious source of information upon the relations of the court to the kingdom at large as the *Victoria County Histories*.

The limited scope of the author's researches may account in part for her errors upon many specific points. It is high time, for instance, that sober historians were abandoning the old fiction that Elizabeth played with her courtiers but kept her counsel for her statesmen (p. 30), since there can be no doubt at all that her three most conspicuous favorites, Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, were among the most influential of her advisors. It is probably not true to say that Elizabeth frequently sat with her Council (pp. 50, 71) and it is certainly wrong to say that the principal secretary after the reign of Henry VIII. "ceased to be an officer of the household" (p. 35). Nor is it fair to conclude from the fact that the Privy Council thought it wise to restrain the recusants at the time of the Armada that their loyalty at that crisis is a fable (p. 89).

In an appendix the author prints an imperfect bibliography of her subject. The book lacks an index, it is awkward in size, bound in thin paper, and fairly loaded with every description of typographical error.

CONYERS READ.

Johan De Witt. Door Dr. N. Japikse. [Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek, IX.] (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff and Company, 1915, pp. viii, 358.) This volume is the ninth of the *Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek*, edited by Professor H. Brugmans. Its purpose, as stated in the introduction, is to make John De Witt and his work better known to the Dutch people. Formerly, says the author, such a book would have been entitled John De Witt and his Times, "with the result that generally the times or the person was slighted. . . . As if, too, one could write a book about John De Witt without his times!" Without declaring that he had accomplished what he himself regards as impossible, one cannot avoid remarking that Dr. Japikse saw to it that, in his work, it was not "de persoon" that "te kort kwam". The result is a clear and vivid narrative, which moves smoothly and rapidly and which keeps De Witt always in the foreground. There is no other picture of the Grand Pensionary that can be placed beside it, nor is it likely soon to be surpassed, for, besides being a writer of more than ordinary ability, Dr. Japikse's earlier studies and his work in connection with the new edition of De Witt's correspondence, which Fruin had begun, have shown him to be a master of this portion of Holland's history. However, the student of this period will have to supplement Dr. Japikse's volume with

those of Lefèvre-Pontalis and Blok, for in the narrow limits of this book he has not been able to develop fully a number of phases of De Witt's life and times.

The main themes are De Witt as a party man and De Witt as a minister of foreign affairs. Of the chapters devoted to the former, the most interesting are those treating of the establishment of "De Vrijheid" (as the régime founded by the Louvenstein faction was called) in Holland and in the Republic, and with these should be read chapter IV. on the character and development of the office of grand pensionary. The remaining chapters deal chiefly with Anglo-Dutch affairs, and in them Dr. Japikse brings out clearly how often and how intimately De Witt's career was affected by English affairs. He emphasizes De Witt's feeling of security for himself and his state in the years immediately following the formation of the Triple Alliance, and his failure to foresee the coming struggle with England and France. In extenuation, however, he might have pointed out the difficulty any minister, and especially one none too ably served, would have in fathoming the intrigues of the English and French courts at this time, when even Buckingham and Shaftesbury were deceived. Finally the author makes clear the importance which De Witt's naval and financial preparations had for the Prince of Orange in his struggle against the two great western powers.

The volume contains many illustrations, chiefly portraits, and several facsimiles of documents in De Witt's handwriting.

EDWIN W. PAHLOW.

Neva i Nienshants, sostavil A. J. Hipping, s vstupitelnoiu stateiou A. S. Lappo-Danilevskago. Two volumes. (Petrograd, Imperial Academy, 1909, pp. xvi, 303, 253.) *Sbornik Dokumentov kasaioushchikhsia Istorii Nevi i Nienshantsa*, prilozhenie k Trudu A. J. Hippinga, *Neva i Nienshants*, s predvaritelnoe Zametkoe A. S. Lappo-Danilevskago. (*Ibid.*, 1916, pp. xii, 328.) A. J. Hipping (1788-1862), Lutheran pastor in Finland, deeply interested in the history of his country, wrote several useful historical books, of which the chief was the history of Nyen or Nyenskans. This was a town and fortress established by the Swedes on the Neva, a little above the point where Peter the Great later founded his capital. Its history has something the same relation to that of Petrograd that the history of the Swedish settlements at Wicacoa or Tinicum has to that of Philadelphia. Part I. of Hipping's book, *Neva och Nyenskans intill St. Petersburgs Anläggning*, första Delen, was published in Swedish at Helsingfors in 1836 and appeared in a Russian translation, somewhat enlarged, in 1853. A Russian translation of part II. was submitted in manuscript to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petrograd in competition for one of its prizes. Hipping was not able to finish his book, nor was Dr. Ernst Kunik (1814-1899), to whom the Academy entrusted its completion. Since the latter's death, the Academy has asked its distinguished historian, Professor Alexander Lappo-Danilevskii, to

complete the work, and this he has done in a scholarly and able manner. Part I. deals with the history of the river Neva, and with the relations of Russia and Sweden from the earliest times to the treaty of Stolbova in 1617, while part II. is concerned with the history—military, political, social, economic, and religious—of Nyenskans from 1617 to 1703, when it was captured by the Russians. These volumes were published in 1909. Part III., just issued by the Academy, contains seventy-one original documents; most of them are in Swedish, a few in Latin. The first is a passage from the *Stora Rimchrönika*, describing the Swedish foundation of Landskrona and the attendant fights with the Russians, 1300–1301; but the others are nearly all documents of Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, and her immediate successors, conferring privileges upon Nyen, settling its municipal government, regulating the trade which passed through it to and from Russia, fixing customs duties, or regulating ecclesiastical relations. One of the latest and most curious of the latter is an epistle of the Czars Ivan and Peter to Charles XI., 1685, about adherents of the Greek church in Ingria and Carelia.

Since 1850 much new material on the subject has come to light. In many respects a better history of the town is C. G. von Bonsdorff's *Nyen och Nyenskans*, in the *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XVIII. 349–504 (Helsingfors, 1891). Hipping's work, however, still has a certain value, to warrant publication by the Academy.

Social Life in England, 1750–1850. By F. J. Foakes Jackson. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. ix, 338.) This book is a compilation of eight informal and delightful lectures covering a very wide range of topics. It is not a history of social life in England, but it does not pretend to be. Mr. Jackson simply describes to us a few major characteristics of certain sections of English society as portrayed for the most part in the writings of a number of popular novelists, poets, and clergymen, throughout the wide expanse of a hundred years.

The lectures upon Wesley, Thackeray, Dickens, and Trollope, while refreshing, contain little that is unfamiliar. The three, however, which deal with Crabbe, Margaret Catchpole, and Gunning's *Reminiscences of Cambridge* are filled with a number of picturesque and enlightening incidents to the majority of us quite unknown and exceedingly useful in reconstituting our picture of eighteenth-century England. Crabbe's early experiences as an apprentice in medicine, for instance, and Margaret Catchpole's relations with the smuggler, Laud, are vivid bits of real life; and so too might one speak of Gunning's gossip anent the social strata, ranks, and distinctions of Cambridge University.

The great pity of the book is that there is not more of it. One might readily reconstruct a social history upon Mr. Jackson's model provided only it be done far more intensively. The novels of contemporary life and manners such as those of Trollope and Disraeli are far more useful to the historian than the so-called "historical novels". In fact the lat-

ter are a dubious blessing to the historian. Sir Walter Scott reflects the romanticism of the early nineteenth century quite truthfully in his attitude toward the past; he does not, and cannot, by his fiction picture medieval life as faithfully as he can that of his own day. But there are other contemporary sources of equal value, of which Mr. Jackson makes little note—newspaper advertisements and reports of celebrations, wedding anniversaries, and what not, the dramatic records of the law-courts, the pamphlets issued by all manner of local societies and organizations, social, industrial, and religious. All these could be drawn upon, synthesized, and molded into one great living picture of the past.

It is hardly fair to criticize Mr. Jackson's book for not doing what it has not attempted. One simply wishes that some time he might utilize his great fund of local and particular knowledge to give us a more complete and finished story of how the English people as a whole lived and thought and acted through some given period of their history.

WALTER P. HALL.

Nationality in Modern History. By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. xi, 202.) Professor Rose's book is a substantial contribution to a timely subject. It contains ten lectures delivered during 1915, eight of them in a course at Cambridge. The earlier lectures are quite objective and bear out the author's statement that they rest on studies begun before the war. In a broad way they trace the beginnings and development of the national idea, and end with a discussion of the German theory of state and militarism. The later lectures are more subjective and partially reveal the author's natural feelings in regard to the war. The final chapter, on internationalism, is inadequate, for it merely grazes the subject and devotes itself principally to accounting for the failure of socialism and labor to offer effective opposition to the war.

Every writer on this subject finds it necessary to define his terms. In this case the word "nation" has been used to designate a people which has attained to state organization; "nationality" (in the concrete sense) as a people which has not yet attained to it; "nationality" (in the ideal sense) as an aspiration towards united national existence. "Nationalism" is used to denote "the intolerant and aggressive instinct which has of late developed in Germany and the Balkan States."

What is the basis or essence of nationality? Professor Rose says he knows of no better words to describe it than those used by Lorraine in 1789 when she desired to join with France in the life of "this glorious family". He regards nationality as an instinct, "the recognition as kinsmen of those we deemed strangers", "a union of hearts, once made, never unmade", "a spiritual conception, unconquerable, indestructible". (The last would presumably not apply to Germany, whose system is defined as "nationalism".) Nationality reposes on voluntary federation through attraction, not on unity imposed by military force.

That nationality is a spiritual force, with little necessary relation to language, religion, race, or culture, is true. Whether this spiritual force, once it has become organized, is indestructible, is debatable. It may and probably will successfully defy force; but it can readily enough change voluntarily with conditions. Indeed nationality may be merely a temporary social cohesion of an emotional character based on expediency, in short, a belief or faith, in effect equivalent to a nation as defined by a London periodical: "A nation exists where its component atoms believe it to be a nation."

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

International Cases, Arbitrations and Incidents illustrative of International Law as practised by Independent States. Volume I. *Peace.* By Ellery C. Stowell, Associate Professor of International Law in Columbia University, and Henry F. Munro, Instructor in International Law, Columbia University. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xxxvi, 496.) A new case-book for class-room use in international law was much needed. Scott's *Cases* is an invaluable collection, but in it the untrained reader is often unable to distinguish doctrine from dicta, and the cases are almost all British and American court decisions. The notes to Pitt Cobbett's excellent volumes may tell the student too much, while Bentwich's smaller selection hardly meets the needs of the American class-room. In this first volume, covering the international relations of peace, the authors have, to a large extent, passed over the decisions of the municipal courts in order to pick out truly international cases. Of the 130 selections, ranging in length from a dozen lines to twenty-five pages, about one-fourth are arbitral decisions (nine of them decisions of the Hague Permanent Court), about one-sixth decisions of municipal courts, mostly British and American, and the rest are diplomatic discussions and settlements largely condensed from Moore's *International Law Digest*. While the selection displays a decided catholicity of spirit and an international point of view, it lacks proportion. When all is said and done, the principles of international law to be distilled from international arbitration cases are few compared with the whole body of the subject.

To use the work successfully as a class-room text would require great skill on the part of the teacher, who will be glad of the introductory suggestions as to the proper use of the book. As a volume of collateral readings, it will be welcomed. Some will doubtless be irritated by its arrangement. It begins with adjective law, a point of departure not in accordance with the traditional succession of topics in orthodox texts. Others will find it a somewhat daring, and hence suggestive experiment, involving a departure from the old lines.

The second volume on *War and Neutrality* will undoubtedly present even greater problems of selection and condensation. The success of the first volume arouses curiosity as to the handling of the more dramatic and now pressing questions in the second.

J. S. R.

Ayesha. By Kapitänleutnant Hellmuth von Mücke. (Berlin, August Scherl, 1916, pp. 132.) Though the time for writing a real history of the present war is still far distant, and such histories as are produced now are doomed to be ephemeral, there has already arisen another class of books, small and unpretentious, whose historical merit is nevertheless clearly recognizable to-day, and which are well worth the attention of the historian. A book of this type is *Ayesha*, written by Hellmuth von Mücke, the young officer in command of the landing party of S. M. S. *Emden*, which, left on the small Keeling Islands in the middle of the Indian Ocean, succeeded in getting through to Constantinople, and thus to Germany. We are told how this landing party, without any supplies, although well armed, were left behind when the *Emden* was attacked by the *Sidney*, how they embarked in a little 100-ton schooner, the *Ayesha*, which they happened to find, and how they sailed as a German man-of-war eight hundred miles to Padang, on Sumatra, and then cruised for three weeks in the vicinity of this island till picked up by a German tramp-steamer, the *Choising*. The *Ayesha* was thereupon sunk, and the detachment was safely brought through the straits of Perim to Hodeida, where the party landed in full view of a French cruiser. After a hearty welcome by their Turkish companions-in-arms, the German sailors continued, alternately in native boats along the coast, and if need be, in order to avoid the British blockading squadron, on camels through the desert, on which occasion a rather serious two-day skirmish occurred with hostile Bedouins. At El Ula the railroad was reached, which took the detachment to Constantinople. Here Mücke reported its arrival to his superior officer, Souchon, in almost the same words in which he had reported its departure from on board the *Emden* ten months before.

While generally speaking the book is to be classed among memoirs, it differs from the majority in a very marked way. The usual memoirs of combatants—especially those written during the present war—deal with personal experiences of a member of a unit that forms after all only an infinitesimal part of the forces engaged in a limited area. The book of the *Ayesha*, on the other hand, describes in detail a certain episode, which has its own unity and does not seem fragmentary; and it is not so much a record of personal impressions as a history of the expedition, even if the human side is the one which receives most attention. Mücke himself keeps continually in the background, telling us what the detachment did, not restricting his observations to the commanding officer. The book is charmingly written, and while far from being trivial, is told with a humor that makes the best of everything, and reflects the spirit that made possible the cruise. Its historical value is enhanced by the fact that the author shows no ill-feeling whatsoever towards his enemies, though he jokingly complains, with a little trace of annoyance, that the Dutch destroyer *Lynx*, failing to recognize the character of the *Ayesha* as a ship of the imperial navy, followed it, to use Mücke's own words, "as a policeman would a tramp".

HILMAR H. WEBER.

Friends of France: the Field Service of the American Ambulance described by its Members. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xvii, 295.) This volume is too miscellaneous in character to give a well-organized and coherent account of the organization and nature of the American Ambulance Service but by that very miscellaneous character the picture of the experiences of the devoted group who have given themselves to the cause of France gains in vividness and reality. There are eleven letters from section leaders, describing, among other things, the organization of the service, Dunkirk and Ypres experiences, days in Alsace and at Verdun, the establishment of a new section, and the events of Christmas Eve, 1915. Among the most interesting of the chapters is that entitled the Inspector's Letter Box, consisting of extracts from letters and diaries of the men in the field. There are also tributes to the service from various sources and photographs of its members. When the history of the relief measures of the present war shall be written the work here depicted will form no small part of the whole, yet the greatest value of the present volume lies in its portrayal of the spirit that pervades the service rather than in its collection and preservation of facts concerning that service.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1915-June, 1916. Volume XLIX. (Boston, the Society, pp. xvi, 510.) Of the latest volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*, more than one-half is composed of original documents, more than one-fourth of records of the society's meetings, papers relating to its business, or memorials of deceased members; the rest consists of papers read at monthly meetings. Of the original documents, much the most notable are the letters of Goldwin Smith to Charles Eliot Norton, 1863-1872. They are marked by many acute and penetrating observations on American politics. Some of them, written from Ithaca in the early days of Cornell University, are invaluable and most entertaining material for anyone who wishes to study the development of a great educational experiment, and for all Cornellians. And, over and above all gifts of observation and of style, the letters awaken admiration by revealing a spirit so catholic, so free from prejudice, that the mind of the Oxford scholar, severe and severely trained, discriminating and caustic, could yet view the America of Civil War and Reconstruction, its politics, its *nouveaux riches*, and its students, with cordial appreciation of all their merits. Other notable documents are a correspondence of Smibert, a Becky-Sharp-like letter of Madame Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte, a body of New England letters on national politics, 1819-1831, addressed to John Brazer Davis, and the Southern journal of Josiah Quincy, jr., 1773. Of the papers written by members of the society, for its meetings, especial mention may be made of Mr. Harold Murdock's Historic Doubts on the Battle of Lexington, Mr. W. A. Robinson's paper on the Washington Benevolent Societies, and that of

Professor M. M. Bigelow on the Old Jury, namely, that of the Anglo-Norman period, studied as a part of the history of legal evidence. Among the memorials of deceased members three, those of William Everett, Edward H. Strobel, and John Chipman Gray, stand out as excellent pieces of biographical writing and of characterization. There are excellent portraits of all three, and of Charles Gross and others.

Documentary History of Rhode Island: being the History of the Towns of Providence and Warwick to 1649 and of the Colony to 1647. By Howard M. Chapin, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society. (Providence, Preston and Rounds Company, 1916, pp. viii, 278.) It was a happy thought that led Mr. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society to gather and edit the papers which he has published as the *Documentary History of Rhode Island*. Such a collection will not only lighten the labors of future historical writers on our most individualistic commonwealth, but do much to insure from them an accuracy of statement otherwise difficult of attainment.

In the light of the present volume, it is noticeable how far a collection of documents—when the individual pieces are not too long—may go toward forming a readable whole. About such a book there is bound to be a flavor of genuineness and actuality very much wanting in the case of the book of which the document *per se* forms no part.

Mr. Chapin's collection covers in range the annals of the towns of Providence and Warwick to 1649, and of the colony of Providence Plantations to 1647, when the first general assembly—a *Landsgemeinde*—met to define the public aims and limitations. The documents themselves comprise many sorts—personal letters, proceedings of town meetings, diaries, proclamations, and above all deeds of conveyance. Choosing somewhat at random among these, we come upon a letter by Roger Williams to Deputy-Governor John Winthrop, written in 1636, from which it appears that thus early the name Rhode Island was applied to the island of Aquidneck. Further on, we discover, from a letter by John Clark of Newport, that before the charter of 1644 had been signed in England the people of Newport (some of them!) were striving for a closer union with Providence. Still further on, we learn that in August, 1645, just after the arrival of the charter in the colony, Roger Williams was its "Chiefe officer".

The accuracy and fidelity of the documents, as printed, to their originals, is we think nearly if not quite without flaw; and in the case of the most important documents, as for example the "Towne Evidence", the Pawtuxet Lands and Houses, and the "Civil Compact", the originals are photographically reproduced. Mr. Chapin has supplemented these originals by the C. W. Hopkins plats of the Providence home lots, and by a map of modern execution showing the early settlements about Narragansett Bay and the modern boundary of the state. Features of artistic and historical interest are a good drawing of Slate Rock from

the Peckham water-color picture in the Rhode Island Historical Society rooms, and a photograph of Pomham's Fort as it appears to-day; for, strange to say, in the case of the latter the "earthworks" are still visible. We note that tail-pieces to the various chapters are formed by facsimiles of the private seals of local worthies, such as Roger Williams, William Harris, Benedict Arnold, William Coddington, and others; and that Mr. Chapin calls the patent of 1644 a charter. The index is limited to personal names and the edition to 250 copies.

I. B. R.

Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck. Volume II. Deeds 3 and 4, 1678-1704. Translated from the original Dutch by Jonathan Pearson. Revised and edited by A. J. F. van Laer. [New York State Library, History Bulletin 9.] (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1916, pp. 438.) For this piece of work, persons seriously interested in the writing of New York history will owe much to the original translator and the present editor. It consists of original material of a fundamental character, made accessible and edited so as to be capable of convenient use for any purpose of historical research. A feature of "human interest" connected with the appearance of this volume is that it is the continuation of an enterprise begun half a century ago by the late Professor Jonathan Pearson. Mr. van Laer is a native of Holland and thus has an advantage over Professor Pearson in the treatment of manuscripts in the Dutch language. This is a feature of importance in the present case.

The introduction makes it clear that these records are important as evidence of title of real estate, and as original material for the antiquarian and genealogist and for the student of general history. This book contains the whole of volume C. of Deeds. Volume D., however, was largely in English, and the printed text of the present volume contains only translations of such instruments as were originally recorded in Dutch. The records in the volume before us range in date from 1678 to 1704. This was the period of transition from Dutch to English methods of procedure in the transfer of real property. As a result of the character and consequences of these changes in procedure (introduction, pp. 7-10) it is evident that Pearson's volume I., the diagrams of lots in Munsell's *Collections*, volume IV. (with Mr. van Laer's caution in mind), this volume, II., and the original records themselves must be used together and in relation to each other.

To one investigating on an intensive scale the introduction points out some interesting facts. For example, from its early settlement Albany's streets and lots were "laid out in quite methodical fashion" by experienced surveyors. This policy was "in line with the fact that under the Roman-Dutch law the title to the street was vested in the government" (introduction, p. 12). Again, "a much larger number of settlers than is generally supposed came from parts of Europe outside of the Netherlands, particularly from East Friesland, Oldenburg, and the

duchies of Schleswig-Holstein", this fact probably accounting for the "call to Albany in 1669 of the Rev. Jacobus Fabritius, the first Lutheran minister in the province" (introduction, p. 11). Mr. van Laer's introduction and notes do him the greatest credit as reviser and editor.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans. By Edwin Miller Fogel, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1915, pp. iv, 387.) [Americana Germanica Monograph Series.] The compiler of this interesting collection has well succeeded in his purpose of collecting and preserving the folk-lore of a class that has contributed much to American life. The largest of the heretofore printed collections does not exceed one hundred and fifty. The present collection numbers in all 2085 statements of superstitions and beliefs, concerning almost every phase of the peculiar customs and life of the Pennsylvania Germans. These are presented first in the original, with all its dialectal peculiarities, and with note of the places where the superstitions were found to exist, and then in translation, wherein the aim has been to reproduce the content of the text rather than its grammar. The work has been made more valuable by the addition of parallels or correlates which were found in various European libraries or gathered by word of mouth in the distinctive Pennsylvania German counties. An attempt was made to ascertain how many superstitions in the collection had a British, or German, or common origin. As would be expected, the conclusion is reached that it is impossible to measure the influence of British superstition (including the Irish and Scottish) upon the Pennsylvania Germans. Less than one hundred items in the book are set down as of purely British origin, two hundred and sixty-nine as common to both Great Britain and Germany, whereas over 1400 have German correlates. About twenty per cent. of the whole number are noted as indigenous to Pennsylvania German soil. In the introduction, the author gives a concise account of the Pennsylvania Germans and a general review of their superstitions, and traces the more general ones from their sources.

L. F. S.

French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America. By Charles H. Sherrill. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. xii, 335.) Though the contemporary social and economic records would afford us a far truer picture of the life of our revolutionary ancestors, they could hardly give us a more pleasant or charitable one than this ingenious patchwork of French travellers' opinions. Most Frenchmen came to an American Utopia which Abbé Raynal's history or their own enthusiastic imaginations had conjured up and given a local habitation. Some of them were disillusioned, but many continued to see simplicity in what was merely crudity, innocence in ignorance, and primitive virtues where there was merely frontier lack of the means for indulging in civilized vice. If the golden visions of American society did suffer a sea-

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change upon nearer view, an unalterable charity for these Republican patriots, whose cause France had embraced, made excuses for the present, and merely projected the imagined virtues into a later heroic generation which would surely arise when independent America attained her natural destiny.

Mr. Sherrill is mistaken in supposing that he has produced an historical work, for he has merely gathered in a very agreeable form a fairly well-organized lot of quotations from naturalists, diplomats, military officers, exiles, and cultivated travellers who reveal the truth rather more by unconscious testimony about the customs and traditions and prejudices of their native land than by reliable observations upon the American society which they try to describe. There is not the slightest effort by Mr. Sherrill to criticize these views, but merely a laudable attempt to analyze and smoothly reorganize the opinions in some seventy-five memoirs and books of travel which have been assiduously assembled not only from libraries, but by a diligent search in French archives. Grouped under subjects like dancing, music, etiquette, dress, courtship, drink and toasts, physical traits, city and country life, there is some three-fourths of the book which does not concern matters usually discussed in serious history. The rest, treating of American education, religious habits, the learned professions, trade, manufacture, and labor, might with proper critical handling become important materials for the study of the life of our forefathers. There are no references, but there is a good bibliography, and a few comparisons seem to indicate that the numerous quotations are carefully made.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Mount Vernon: Washington's Home and the Nation's Shrine. By Paul Wiltach. (New York and Garden City, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1916, pp. xvi, 301.) This addition to the already great mass of Washingtoniana justifies itself. The interest in Washington is such that the smallest details concerning him have value. All the material facts respecting the estate, the mansion house and its outlying buildings and grounds are here, and the story of the struggle to preserve the home of Washington is well told. The illustrations are good and exceptionally interesting. The book will amply satisfy the general reader and Mount Vernon pilgrim. An undeveloped critical faculty, however, betrays the author at times into historical exaggeration that makes the volume uneven. Where the matter is confined to the strict facts respecting Mount Vernon, the book merits ungrudging praise; but, unfortunately, Mr. Wiltach has heavily interlarded the story of the estate with an amount of biographical material of the illustrious owner which, however excusable, is too often an unnecessary strain upon the historian's patience. For the period just before the Revolution, Washington's political activity is described (p. 115) in "the mass of correspondence rolling out of Mount Vernon library to every corner of the clustering colonies". It would be difficult to mention three men in the colonies, outside of

Virginia, with whom Washington corresponded between 1770 and 1774. It is unreflecting enthusiasm that credits (p. 124) the Fairfax Convention with "the germ of the Second Continental Congress" and its resolves with "the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence". We find also many of the familiar but unsubstantiated stories that perpetuate the statuesque outlines of the mythical Washington, and a long paragraph (p. 21) in defense, albeit a somewhat apologetic defense, of Weems's statements. Interesting fact and commentary is often dovetailed with matter of doubtful authenticity, and the absence of citations of original authorities is a serious defect. Yet the book bears evidence of sincere painstaking. It is clearly a labor of love and its weaknesses are certainly not those of the heart.

J. C. FITZPATRICK.

Viajes de Misioneros Franciscanos á la Conquista del Nuevo México. Documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla). By P. Otto Maas, O.F.M. (Seville, Imprenta de San Antonio, 1915, pp. 209.) This book consists mainly of documents printed from manuscripts contained in three legajos in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville. It contains some welcome additions to the printed original material for the history of the northern frontier of New Spain. Most of the documents, however, have been known hitherto, and have been available in this country in manuscript form, while more than half of them, counting pages, have actually been printed one or more times.

The first two groups do not concern New Mexico, but Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Texas, instead. Transcripts of nearly all of these are in the Bolton Collection. Group I. records the founding of missions Santa María de los Dolores, San Juan Bautista, San Francisco Solano, and San Bernardo by the Querétaro Franciscans (1698-1709). No. II. is the diary of the journey of Fathers Olivares and Espinosa to central Texas in 1709.

Groups III.-VII. concern the explorations of Fathers Escalante, Domínguez, and Garcés in New Mexico and California, 1775-1777. Nearly or quite all have been available in manuscript in the Bancroft Collection, while no. VI. (Escalante's diary of 1776-1777) and no. VII. (Garcés's diary of 1775-1776), comprising more than half of the volume, have already been printed in both Spanish and English. Moreover, of no. III. Father Maas gives only an abstract. The interesting map of the journey of Garcés is printed in Chapman's *Founding of Spanish California*, opposite page 364. The two appendixes are reprints of statistics of the Franciscan missions in New Spain in 1786 and 1788.

The introduction consists of quoted paragraphs from Alcedo's *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico* and from Mendieta. Father Maas is evidently not minutely conversant with the field which the documents cover, hence many misprints occur in their reproduction, *e. g.*, "Fontcuberta" becomes "Fonscuberta"; "Garauita" becomes "Garduito", "Mescaleros" becomes "Mescateros", etc.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

COMMUNICATION

December 11, 1916.

MANAGING EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

Doctor Jameson:

In your letter forwarded to me in the field, and inclosing proof-sheet of criticism in July number, of my review of *The Fighting Cheyennes* in April number, you state that the criticism came to you too late to give opportunity for reply in your July number. Since my return to Washington ill health and other causes have delayed attention to the matter. Some points, however, seem to demand attention, even though belated.

Of the celebrated Forsyth fight in 1868 the author says in his rejoinder—"the scouts, with repeating arms, fought behind breastworks, while the Indians, three-fourths of whom were armed with bows and arrows, fought on the bare prairie, without any cover". The fact is that the "breastworks" were holes dug out in the sand by the scouts with their knives while lying flat on the ground after the fight began, while the Indians kept their families, tipis, and horses, and formed their lines for the charge, behind the shelter of the hills which stand back from the stream. A large part of them, possibly the majority, carried fire-arms, guns and ammunition forming part of the regular treaty issue. In fact, rifles, revolvers, and ammunition had been issued to these same Indians by the agent at Fort Larned only the month before. Yet with every horse shot down and half their own number either killed or disabled these fifty-three white men held off ten times as many mounted Cheyenne warriors for eight days until relieved by reinforcements. This battle of the Arikaree Fork has been so often written up that it seems almost superfluous to give references. The reviewer's authorities include, besides printed sources, personal information of the scout Stilwell, who crept through the lines at night and brought reinforcements, and of Roman-nose Thunder, who rescued the mortally wounded Cheyenne leader under fire.

As to the account of the celebrated Medicine Lodge treaty of October, 1867, it is stated in the book (page 263) that Jesse Chisholm, a halfbreed Cherokee, "was to interpret for the Kiowas and Comanches," and that after a treaty had been concluded with these tribes "apparently the Cheyennes did come in and sign, though definite information as to this is lacking" (page 265). As to the first point, the interpreter for the Kiowa and Comanche was Philip McCusker, as shown by the official treaty record. Chisholm was interpreter at an earlier treaty in 1865. The author has simply confused two events. For the second point, the doubt and alleged lack of information as to the presence of the Cheyenne

at their own treaty, an explanation is given which does not explain. The fact of their presence is a part of the official record, even if it were not established by their signatures appended to the treaty.

The reviewer is familiar with the ceremonial method of Indian approach with yelling and firing of guns, having frequently witnessed it at the sun dance and on other occasions, but the arrival of the other tribes or bands produced no such impression upon the beholders as did that of the Cheyenne, as described by both Senator Henderson and Major Stouch, the latter a veteran officer of the Civil War and Indian frontier, more or less familiar with Indian custom, and both presumably of a fair degree of courage. The fact is that the Cheyenne, true to their usual character, kept the commissioners waiting in uncertainty a full week after all the other tribes were assembled, and then came in, not as parties to a friendly conference, but as defiant bluffers looking for trouble. The dramatic manner of their arrival has been described to the reviewer by Commissioner Senator Henderson; Timothy Peet, trader at the conference; and Major George Stouch (then Captain), Third Infantry, U. S. A., in command of escort troops and in later years twice agent for the Cheyenne tribe. As an army officer by profession and charged with responsibility for the safety of the commissioners, Major Stouch would hardly have failed to note correctly the equipment of a possible enemy drawn up in front of his own men, and any original error would certainly have been corrected through his frequent friendly interchange of reminiscence with these same Cheyenne in after years as their agent. As every old soldier knows, the old-style muzzle-loader of the Civil War was served with a paper cartridge, of which the end was bitten off before loading and the charge exploded by means of a percussion cap. The compulsory use of such cartridges in India led to the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, ten years before Medicine Lodge. Moreover, the breech-loading rifle and the Maynard metallic cartridge were invented, patented, and to some extent in use in the United States army before the Civil War. On January 26, 1867, by command of General Hancock, in charge of the Department of the Missouri, orders were issued forbidding the sale or barter of arms or ammunition to the Indians of the upper Arkansas River region, and stating that they were already supplied in quantities greatly beyond their hunting necessities, and to such extent that "a large body of them was seen passing one of our posts a few days since, each individual having two, and some of them three revolvers, and many of them armed with the latest improved carbines, and supplied with large quantities of ammunition". So far back as 1857 Colonel Sumner had an engagement in western Kansas with some three hundred Cheyenne, who, according to the official report as quoted in the work under review (page 114), were drawn up in regular line of battle, "all mounted and well armed; many of them had rifles and revolvers".

JAMES MOONEY.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association takes place in Cincinnati, December 27-30, just before the issue of these pages. Copies of the first edition of the programme, and of the report of the committee on nominations, were mailed to all members on November 29. In the business meeting, it was expected, the main subject for consideration would be the proposals made a year ago by the Committee of Nine, for the amendment of the constitution.

The Adams prize essay, *The Leveller Movement*, by Dr. Theodore C. Pease, is now expected to appear in January. Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1914 approaches publication at the Government Printing Office. Mr. Matteson's General Index to all *Papers and Reports*, 1884 to 1914 inclusive, is nearly ready in manuscript, to be printed as volume II. The *Annual Report* for 1915, a single volume, is in galley-proof. It will contain, besides several papers read at the last annual meeting, reports on the state archives of California and Vermont.

The Pacific Coast Branch met at San Diego in the concluding days of November. Professor Edward Krehbiel of Stanford University was chosen president for the ensuing year.

In the *Original Narratives* series, the publishers have decided to defer the issue of Miss Kellogg's *Early Narratives of the Northwest* until February. The series will therefore not be completed until that date, though the final report of the general editor of the series, who has conducted it from 1904 to the present time, has been rendered to the Association at the Cincinnati meeting.

PERSONAL

The Marquis Charles Jean Melchior de Vogüé, member of the French Academy and president of the Société de l'Agriculture de France and of the French Red Cross organization, died in November, aged eighty-seven. Aside from diplomatic and other public services, he was chiefly noted for writings on the Christian archaeology of Syria and Palestine, beginning with *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* (1860); but in 1888 he published a book on Villars, and in 1900 the correspondence of the Duc de Bourbon of the same period with the Duc de Beauvilliers.

Count Ugo Balzani died in Rome on February 27, 1916, at the age of sixty-eight. His chief work was his notable edition of the *Regesto di Farfa*, but he is best known to English readers through his book on *The Early Chroniclers of Italy* (1883). He was also an important member

of the Istituto Storico Italiano and had exercised, through the Società Romana di Storia Patria and a school of history connected with it, great influence upon the advancement of historical studies in Rome.

Dr. Helio Lobo, secretary of the president of Brazil, is to lecture in history at Harvard University during the second half of the present academic year.

Mr. J. Montgomery Gambrill has been made assistant professor of history in the Teachers College of Columbia University.

In Vassar College, Miss Eloise Ellery has been promoted from an associate professorship to a professorship of history; Miss Ida C. Thallon, hitherto assistant professor, to an associate professorship.

Mr. Percy S. Flippin, professor of history in Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, is to occupy the Rogers chair of history in Hamilton College.

Mr. H. C. Hubbard of the University of Chicago has been made professor of history in Allegheny College, in succession to Professor Ernest A. Smith.

GENERAL

The statement made in the October number that no books or periodicals had been received from Germany since May is still true, as is also the statement with regard to the delays in the case of publications from other countries.

In the September and October numbers of the *History Teacher's Magazine* Professor St. George L. Sioussat discusses at some length and in a manner very instructive the problem of Teaching the History of the New South. Professor Sioussat lays a proper foundation for his study by much needed warnings against possible misconceptions as regards the uniqueness of the South, its economic unity, and its newness. The article treats four important phases of Southern development: the economic revolution, the educational renaissance, political and constitutional development, and the negro. Teachers of history will also be interested in Mr. R. M. Tryon's paper, in the September number, on the High School History Recitation. The October number reprints from the *Journal* of the New York State Teachers' Association Professor A. C. McLaughlin's interesting and thoughtful address, delivered before that association in November, 1915, on Teaching War and Peace in American History. The same number of the *Magazine* presents Two Views regarding Historical Fiction. The principal articles in the November number are: Geographical versus Sequential History, by Professor E. F. Humphrey, Economics in the High School, by President C. A. Herrick of Girard College, and Industrial History in the High School, by Raymond G. Taylor. In the December number we note: The World War and the Historians, an address by Professor F. M. Anderson; Forms of History Recitation, by Miss Frances M. Morehouse; and an account of a recent

School Exhibit in History at Newark, by Dr. D. C. Knowlton. A list of thirty existing history teachers' associations gives a vivid notion of the expansion of the work of historical education.

Professor F. J. E. Woodbridge has, from his study of the history of philosophy, arrived at certain conclusions concerning history, which he has embodied in *The Purpose of History*, published by Columbia University (pp. vii, 89).

The Oxford University Press is soon to publish a volume of essays entitled *Progress and History*, arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. Among other contributions the volume contains Progress in Prehistoric Times by R. R. Marett, Progress and Hellenism by F. M. Stawell, and Progress in the Middle Ages by Rev. A. J. Carlyle.

In the series entitled *Nations' Histories*, published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, W. T. Waugh has contributed a volume on Germany, F. H. Davis one on Japan, and G. E. Slocumbe one on Poland.

Among the fall announcements of Messrs. Putnam is *France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1917*, by Charles Cestre.

Magna Carta and Other Addresses, by Dr. William D. Guthrie, includes addresses on the Mayflower Compact, the Eleventh Amendment, Nominating Conventions, etc. (Columbia University Press).

In the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* (Cambridge University Press) Mr. H. G. Addis is soon to publish *The Printed Book*, a history of printing.

The paper of Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., entitled Recent History: to what Extent to the Exclusion of Other History, which appears in vol. VIII. of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is reprinted as *University Bulletin*, no. 8, of the Louisiana State University.

The American Jewish Historical Society, holding its twenty-fifth annual meeting in New York on April 22 and 23, intends to signalize this anniversary by organizing an American Jewish Historical Exhibition, to embrace portraits, engravings, manuscripts, books, and other matter of interest for the history of the Jews in America. The chairman of the special committee on the exhibition is Mr. Leon Hühner, 52 William Street, New York City.

Professor W. W. Rockwell has prepared a critical bibliography of Armenia including both books and articles. As the compiler expects shortly to issue a second edition of the pamphlet he will be glad to receive suggestions. Copies of the list may be obtained from the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The leading Dutch historical society, the Historisch Genootschap, has just brought out a new edition of its authoritative code of rules for the

putting into print of manuscript historical documents, *Regels voor het Uitgeven van Historische Bescheiden* (Amsterdam, Johannes Müller).

The Princeton University Press has brought out a work entitled *The Evolution of Governments and Laws*, by Stephen H. Allen.

A short history of some of the principal questions of sea law as it affects neutrals is given in G. W. T. Omond's *The Law of the Sea*, published by Messrs. Black.

The *Storia del Diritto Marittimo nel Mediterraneo* (Rome, Athenaeum, 1915, pp. xii, 200) by R. Zeno will interest the student of history as well as of international law.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October, under the title "Following the Conquistadores", presents an article by Dr. Thomas O'Hagan, reviewing the Rev. Dr. Zahm's three recent South American volumes. Mrs. Margaret Brent Downing treats of "The American Capitoline Hill [Capitol Hill at Washington] and its Early Catholic Proprietors"; Bishop Corrigan continues his series of systematic data respecting the hierarchy of his church in the United States, and Dom Roger Hudleston, of Downside Abbey, exhibits the relation of the origins of that hierarchy, and of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Australia, to Bishop Charles Walmesley, vicar apostolic. Documents from the archives of the Propaganda, describing the Jesuit missions in America in 1773 and later, are also presented.

The October number of the *Military Historian and Economist*, with which that journal concludes a highly successful first year, contains three particularly excellent and interesting historical articles: one by Professor Tenney Frank, "Rome, Marseilles, and Carthage", a paper read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association; one by Professor R. M. Johnston, on Carnot's Conduct of Operations in the spring of 1796; and one by Professor R. P. Brooks, on Conscription in the Confederate States.

In the October number of the *Journal of Negro History* C. E. Pierre gives an account of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the negroes in the colonies; Alice Dunbar-Nelson presents the first part of an interesting paper on the "gens de couleur" in Louisiana; W. T. McKinney an article on the Defeat of the Secessionists in Kentucky in 1861; and J. Kunst summarizes the remarks of Thomas Gage on negroes in Guatemala in the seventeenth century. The editor extracts from the chief travellers in English America, of the latter part of the eighteenth century, their observations on slavery and the negro. This number completes volume I. of a very creditable undertaking, well deserving support.

The first number of a new Russian historical journal (*Russkii Istoričeskii Zhurnal*) is to appear about the first of January, 1917. The three leading editors are Messrs. M. A. Diakonov of the Academy, and

V. N. Beneshevitch and S. V. Rozhdestvenskii of the University of Petrograd. They will be assisted by a group of able scholars, among them being Professors A. S. Lappo-Danilevskii and G. V. Vernadskii.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Ovel, *La Météorologie dans l'Histoire* (Revue Hebdomadaire, September 30); C. Diehl, *La Lutte pour l'Adriatique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 16); J. H. Robinson, *What is National Spirit?* (Century, November); J. Lailier, *Ambulances d'Autrefois* (Revue Hebdomadaire, September 30).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, IV. (Revue Historique, September).

An introduction, reproduction, and translation of a hundred tablets in the collection of the École des Hautes Études of Paris by Dr. G. Contenau is published under the title *Contribution à l'Histoire Économique d'Umma* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. xliii, 162), as the 219th volume of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

An error was made in our last number, in a reference to a volume by Mr. G. A. Harrer, now of the University of North Carolina. The title should read: *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria* (Princeton, University Press, 1915).

A thesis on *L'Impôt de Capitation sous le Bas-Empire Romain* (Chambéry, Imp. Chambérienne, 1916, pp. 103) is by Dr. A. Piganiol. A volume of *Studi Romani e Bizantini* (Rome, Tip. dell' Accademia dei Lincei, 1915, pp. 319) is by L. Cantarelli.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. G. McCurdy, *The Dawn of Art: Cave Paintings, Engravings, and Sculptures* (Art and Archaeology, August); J. H. Breasted, *Studio of an Egyptian Portrait Sculptor in the Fourteenth Century B. C.* (*ibid.*, October-November); H. M. Wiener, *The Date of the Exodus* (Bibliotheca Sacra, July); F. M. T. Böhl, *Ausgewählte Keilschrifttexte aus Boghaz-Köi umschrieben und erklärt* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, L. 2, 4); J. de Morgan, *Les Débuts du Peuple Arménien dans l'Histoire* (Mercure de France, September 1); P. Cloché, *Les Trois Mille et la Restauration Démocratique à Athènes en 403* (Revue des Études Grecques, January); G. Corradi, *La Fine del Regno di Seleuco Nicatore*, II. (Revista de Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, July); J. L. Heiberg, *Le Rôle d'Archimède dans le Développement des Sciences Exactes* (Scientia, August); P. Huvelin, *Une Guerre d'Usure dans l'Antiquité, la Deuxième Guerre Punique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); E.-Ch. Babut, *L'Adoration des Empereurs et les Origines de la Persécution de Dioclétien* (Revue Historique, November); H. Gummerus, *Det Romerska Rikets Undergång, Olika Meningar om dess Orsaker* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, June).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Rev. Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, the author of *The Syrian Christ* (Houghton Mifflin), brings to the interpretation of the life of Jesus knowledge gained from life under conditions not dissimilar to those presented in the Gospels, and thereby is able to throw fresh light on many New Testament incidents.

The *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Turin, Marietti, 1916, pp. 455, lxi) by Sisto Scaglia is translated from the Italian edition of 1910 with additional material to bring it up to date.

Among the recent issues of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, edited by Professors R. Graffin and F. Nau, are: XI. 1, *Histoire Universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, edited and translated into French by A. Vasilier; XI. 5, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite (Rédaction Copte)*, III. *Les Mois de Toubeh et d'Amchir*, edited in the Arabic text and translated and annotated by R. Basset; XII. 2, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts*, edited and translated by E. W. Brooks; XIII. 1, *Sargis d'Aberga (Controverse Judéo-Chrétienne)*, edited in the Ethiopian text and translated by S. Grébaut (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1916).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Department of History of Dartmouth College has published a revised edition of Foster and Fay's *Syllabus of European History*, part I., 378-1600 (pp. 41).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library has been prepared by Miss Catherine R. Borland (T. and A. Constable, 1916, pp. xxxi, 3589). The scholarly and informing notes of Miss Borland and those who assisted her make the work of real value to the student.

Dr. Charles C. Mierow of Colorado College has undertaken the translation of Otto of Freising for the series *Records of Civilization*, edited by Professor Shotwell.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Grand, *Contribution à l'Histoire du Régime des Terres: le Contrat de Complant depuis les Origines jusqu'à Nos Jours*, I. (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et étranger, April); G. B. Borino, *L'Elezione e la Deposizione di Gregorio VI.*, I. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 1); E. H. Byrne, *Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); A. Marigo, *Cultura Letteraria e Preumanistica nelle Maggiori Enciclopedie del Dugento, Lo "Speculum" ed il "Tresors"* (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXVIII. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Professor Ephraim Emerton of Harvard University is preparing a volume entitled *The Beginnings of Modern Europe*, intended as a continuation of his *Medieval Europe*, published in 1894 and his *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* published in 1888.

Under the title *El Cónclave de 1774 e 1775* (Madrid, Clásica Española, 1916, pp. 575), E. Pacheco y de Leyva has studied Spanish relations to the suppression of the Society of Jesus from Spanish documents.

Centenary contributions to the Waterloo literature include Capt. A. F. Becke, *Napoleon and Waterloo* (London, Kegan Paul, 1915, 2 vols.); J. R. Callenbach, *Waterloo* (Nijkerk, Callenbach, 1915, pp. 267); H. C. Diferee, *Van Scheveningen tot Waterloo, 30 November 1813 tot 18 Juni 1815* (Amsterdam, Van Holkema, 1915, pp. viii, 240); and Karl von Möller, *Der Feldzug 1815* (Vienna, Verlag für Vaterländische Literatur, 1915, pp. 159).

Dr. Coleman Phillipson has brought together and edited a collection of treaties of peace of the last hundred years, entitled *The Termination of War and Treaties of Peace* (Fisher Unwin). The editor studies the preliminary stages of treaty-making as well as the provisions of treaties actually ratified.

Professor Clarence Perkins of Ohio State University has compiled for the use of students *An Outline of Recent European History*, based on Hazen's *Europe since 1815* and the second volume of Hayes's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, with many suggestions for additional reading. The *Outline* extends to August, 1916.

European relations with Africa have been studied and discussed by J. Bécker in *Historia de Marruecas, Apuntes para la Historia de la Penetración Europea, y principalmente de la Española en el Norte de Africa* (Madrid, Ratés, 1915, pp. 590); by E. Rouard de Card in *La Turquie et le Protectorat Français en Tunisie, 1881-1913* (Paris, Pedone, 1916); and by Pierre-Alpe in *L'Éthiopie et les Ambitions Allemandes* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916).

The lectures which Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University gave at the University of Virginia last year on the Barbour-Page Foundation, on "The Origin and Formation of the Triple Alliance", are soon to be published as a book.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Laderchi, *La Battaglia di Fornovo, 6 Luglio 1495* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); M. C. Piccioni, *L'Ordine de Malte et la Corse* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 2); E. Boutroux, *La Paix de Westphalie, 24 Octobre 1648* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 14); E. Griselle, *De Berlin à Constantinople: un Échec Diplomatique de Louis XIV. en 1659* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); G. Fagniez, *Les Antécédents de l'Alliance Franco-Russe: les Avances d'Élisabeth Petrovna et les Préventions Françaises, 1741-*

1762 (Revue Hebdomadaire, August 19); M. Lasso de la Vega, *El Duque de Havré y su Misión en España como Representante de los Emigrados durante la Revolución, 1791-1798*, I., II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January, May); L. Messedaglia, *La Questione dell'Istria nel 1797* (Nuova Antologia, August 16); W. S. Robertson, *The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies* (English Historical Review, October); J. Duhem, *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine, 1871-1914* (Revue de Paris, August 15, September 1, 15); V. H. Friedel, *La Propagande Scolaire Allemande à l'Étranger avant et pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); E. Bernstein, *L'Impérialisme Économique et la "Sozialdemokratie"* (Revue Politique Internationale, July).

THE GREAT WAR

The Macmillan Company, in a large volume of 1200 pages, presents, under the title *Official Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War*, a collection of all the despatches upon the subject printed hitherto in the various-colored books of the different belligerent countries. Six hundred pages of text, carefully edited by Professor Edmund von Mach of Harvard University, are first presented in English, in chronological order of days and under each day in alphabetical order of governments. These are followed by photographic reproductions of the official editions of the documents (Blue, White, Yellow, etc., books) put forth by the governments. The utility of the collection to students is apparent.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *Elements of the Great War: Second Phase*, is a study of the battle of the Marne, military details occupying the major portion of the book.

A volume with an introduction by Georges Cain bears the title *La Grande Guerre, 1914-1918, Iconographie, Bibliographie, Documents Divers* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1916). The volume contains an iconography of the war to the close of 1915, while two more volumes for the bibliography to the same date are promised in the near future.

The thirteenth volume of *Guerre de 1914, Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1916) comprises documents through September 15, 1916. The compilation by C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer of *German Legislation for the Occupied Territories of Belgium* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916) extends to December 31, 1915, in the fifth volume, which contains an index to the first five volumes. The texts are given in the original German, French, or Flemish. The third volume of the *Recueil des Documents insérés au "Bulletin Officiel" du Ministère de la Guerre et concernant spécialement la Période des Hostilités du 2 Août 1914* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916) extends through July 31, 1916. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published *Documents Officiels relatifs à la Guerre, 1914, 1915, 1916: les Allemands à Lille et dans le Nord de France* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), which deals with the deportations in April, 1916.

The first volume of *La Guerre de 1914, Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1916) contains 379 documents and an introduction by P. Fauchille. A second volume was announced to appear in December. The same writer has furnished the introduction to the first volume of *Jurisprudence Française en Matière de Prises Maritimes, Recueil de Décisions, suivi des Textes intéressant le Droit International Maritime publiés par la France pendant la Guerre de 1914* (*ibid.*). Professor Antoine Pellet has published a volume on *La Guerre Actuelle et le Droit des Gens* (*ibid.*), and Professor Louis Rolland, on *Les Pratiques de la Guerre Aérienne dans le Conflit de 1914 et le Droit des Gens* (*ibid.*).

A German diplomat and student of international law, W. Krauel, has published *Neutralität, Neutralisation, und Befreiung im Völkerrecht* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, pp. xi, 97). R. Moulin has studied conditions and the movement of opinion relating to the war, in neutral countries, in *La Guerre et les Neutres* (Paris, Plon, 1916, vol. 2, pp. iii, 400). A volume by T. W. R. Scott relates to *War Time and Peace in Holland* (London, Heinemann, 1915).

Abbé G. Arnaud d'Agnel has published two volumes on *Benoît XV. et le Conflit Européen* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1916, pp. iv, 338, iv, 396) which carry the narrative to May, 1916. He promises further volumes for later developments. L. Lacroix is publishing a series of pamphlets on *Le Clergé et la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) of which the tenth deals with Cardinal Mercier and the eleventh with the clergy of the invaded dioceses.

The noting of historical parallels to events in the Great War is a pastime to which Professor A. Aulard has given himself in *La Guerre Actuelle commentée par l'Histoire, Vues et Impressions au Jour le Jour, 1914-1916* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. xi, 256), and André Fribourg, in *La Guerre et le Passé: les "Leçons" de l'Histoire* (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

With the French in France and Salonika, by Richard Harding Davis (Scribner), consists of letters written from France, Greece, Serbia, and England during the last three months of 1915 and the first month of 1916. The author visited Verdun, Amiens, St. Dié, Arras, Chalons, Nancy, and Rheims and in readable fashion described the impressions he gained.

Mr. Sydney A. Moseley, a war correspondent with the Gallipoli expedition, has described his experiences in *The Truth about the Dardanelles* (Cassell, pp. 278).

Because books relating to the war on the eastern front are scarce, special interest attaches to John Morse, *Un Anglais dans l'Armée Russe, Dix Mois de Guerre en Pologne, Août 1914-Mai 1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), and to O. C. Taslauanu, *Trois Mois de Campagne en Galicie, Carnet de Route d'un Transylvanien Officier dans l'Armée Austro-Hongroise* (Paris, Attinger, 1916).

The second volume of Ernest Daudet's *Les Auteurs de la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Attinger, 1916) deals with William II. and Francis Joseph. Numerous articles of timely interest are collected in *La France devant l'Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. xxiii, 318) by G. Clémenceau; and in *1914-1916, l'Allemagne au-dessus de Tout!* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916) and *Prouesses Allemandes* (*ibid.*) by A. Chuquet. Other recent additions to the French anti-German literature are V. Tissot, *L'Allemagne Casquée, Voyage au Pays des Milliards* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. iv, 384); and A. Chéradame, *Le Plan Pangermaniste Démasqué, le Redoutable Piège Berlinoïse de la Partie Nulle* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 360). A Belgian view is given by F. Van de Vorst, *La Nation Criminelle, Étude Historique de la Déformation Morale Allemande* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916, pp. 164); a Swiss view by Professor M. Millioud, *La Caste Dominante Allemande, sa Formation, son Rôle* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); and a Greek view by G. Argyroglo, *L'Allemagne Ennemi de l'Hellénisme* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 127). A vigorous effort to fasten the responsibility for the war on Austria is made by P. Bertrand in *L'Autriche a Voulu la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Bossard, 1916, pp. 500). A German volume on the causes of the war, not before mentioned, is *Die Deutsche Politik und die Entstehung des Krieges* (Munich, Beck, 1915, pp. 202) by T. Bitterauf.

La Guerra Europea, 1914-1915, Reconstitución Informativa de la Campaña y sus Derivaciones Políticas y Sociales (Barcelona, Maucci, 1916) is a two-volume work by G. Calvo and J. Brilla.

The campaign on the western front is the subject of the following volumes of souvenirs by French officers and soldiers: Capitaine Hassler, *Ma Campagne au Jour le Jour, Août 1914-Décembre 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); H. Libermann, *Ce qu' a vu un Officier de Chasseurs à Pied, 2 Août-28 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1916); Capitaine Rimbault, *Journal de Campagne d'un Officier de Ligne* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); Lieutenant R. Deville, *Carnet de Route d'un Artilleur, Virton, la Marne* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916); J. Renaud, *La Tranchée Rouge, Feuilles de Route, Septembre 1914-Mars 1916* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); A. Salmon Le Chass'Bi, *Notes de Campagne en Artois et en Argonne en 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

Other observers on the western front have written the following volumes of memoirs: Commandant Willy Breton, *Un Régiment Belge en Campagne, 1^{er} Août 1914-1^{er} Janvier 1915, Quelques Fastes du 2^e Chasseurs à Pied* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 130); P. Millet, *En Liaison avec les Anglais, Souvenirs de Campagne* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); Abbé A. Trimbalet, *De Soyécourt à Wittenberg, ou l'Invasion et la Captivité* (Amiens, Yvert and Tellier, 1916, pp. iii, 138); R. Christian-Frogé, *Morhange et les Marsouins en Lorraine* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916), by an officer in a colonial regiment; J. F. Bouchor, *Souvenirs de la Grande Guerre, 1914-1915* (Paris, Mignot, 1916), containing 64 plates by a painter of the Musée de l'Armée.

Lorette, une Bataille de Douze Mois, Octobre 1914-Octobre 1915 (Paris, Perrin, 1916) is by H. René. The number of the magazine *La Renaissance* for September 2, 1916, is made up of articles relating to the retreat from Charleroi, the battle of the Ourcq, the battle of the Marne, and to General Gallieni.

Observations on various phases of the war in France are recorded in H. de Noussanne, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Senlis* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916, pp. vii, 260); P. Laboureyras, *La Destruction d'une Cité Picarde et d'une Basilique Mariale, la Ville d'Albert avant et pendant la Guerre, 1914-1915* (Amiens, Grau, 1915, pp. vi, 151); A. Fribourg, *Les Martyrs d'Alsace et de Lorraine, d'après les Débats des Conseils de Guerres Allemands* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 194); Noëlle Roger, *Le Cortège des Victimes, les Rapatriés d'Allemagne, 1914-1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); J. Boubée, *Parmi les Blessés Allemands, Août-Décembre 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. iii, 308); Commandant E. Vedel, *Nos Marins à la Guerre, sur Mer et sur Terre* (Paris, Payot, 1916); J. Mont, *La Défense Nationale et notre Parlement* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. 288); and J. Destrée, *Les Socialistes et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Van Oest, 1915). A French observer in England, J. M. Crazannes, is the author of *L'Empire Britannique et la Guerre Européenne, Lettres d'Angleterre* (Paris, Belin, 1916).

A volume entitled *La Guerre et la Vie Économique* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 310) contains addresses on the relations to the conduct of the war, of agriculture by D. Zolla, of aviation by P. E. Flandin, of the merchant marine by P. de Rousiers, of the colonies and Morocco by J. Chailley, of the metal industries by R. Pinot, and of national finances by A. Liesse.

L'Hommage Français (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916) is the general title of a series of a dozen pamphlets in which leading French statesmen and authors endeavor to explain to the French public the part played by the several allied nations and their colonies in the conduct of the war. Further issues are promised which will include articles on several aspects of France's own part in the prosecution of the war.

Several members of the French Academy have made notable contributions to the literature of the war. Aside from the directly political and historical writings by Lavissee, Hanotaux, and Charmes which have been mentioned from time to time, note may be made of *À l'Arrière, Août, 1914-Août, 1915* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1916) by F. Masson; of *Dialogues de Guerre* (Paris, Fayard, 1916, pp. 286) by H. Lavedan; and of the several volumes under the general title, *L'Âme Française et la Guerre* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1915-1916) and *Les Traits Éternels de la France* (*ibid.*, 1916) by Maurice Barrès. Some have embodied their observations and experiences in the form of the novel, such as *Bourru, Soldat de Vauquois* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) by Jean des Vignes Rouges, a French army officer. A native of Frankfort-on-the-Main, now an

exile in Switzerland, Edward Stilgebauer, has written *Inferno, Roman de la Guerre Mondiale* (Neuchâtel, Switzerland, Bassin-Clottu, 1916) which is said to be an even more notable arraignment of German militarism than the well-known *L'Accuse*.

R. Vaucher has furnished a comprehensive account of the Italian campaign in *Avec les Armées de Cadorna, Exposé des Opérations Italiennes depuis la Déclaration de Guerre jusqu'à la Prise de Gorizia* (Paris, Payot, 1916).

The story of the Serbian campaign is told from the side of the defeated in *La Serbie en Guerre, 1914-1916, Épisodes Vécus* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1916, pp. 192) by Madame Sturzenegger, a Swiss woman; in *Le Drame Serbe, Octobre 1915-Mars 1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) by Ferri-Pisani; in *Avec l'Armée Serbe en Retraite à travers l'Albanie et le Monténégro, Journal de Route d'un Officier d'Administration de la Mission Médicale Militaire Française en Serbie* (*ibid.*, pp. xxv, 213) by Raoul Labry; and in *La Retraite de Serbie, Octobre-Décembre 1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), by Dr. Louis L. Thomson, also a member of the French medical mission.

The Asiatic aspects of the war are presented by Paul Louis in *La Guerre d'Orient et la Crise Européenne* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. ii, 127), and by Henry Richard in *La Syrie et la Guerre* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916, pp. 132).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Rossi, *Le Cause di Debolezza della Triplice Alleanza* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); T. Tittoni, *La Responsabilità della Guerra* (*ibid.*, September 16); M. Y. Bitar, *Le Califat et la Guerre* (Mercure de France, October 1, 16); XX., *Le Sultan Ottoman et le Khalifat* (Revue de Paris, September 1); E. d'Eichthal, *Alliances et Guerres Économiques, la Conférence Économique de Paris* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); Un Officier Anglais, *Au Front de France* (Revue de Paris, August 1, 15, September 1, 15); C. Le Goffic, *Les Marais de Saint-Gond, 1914* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); H. Bordeaux, *Un Épisode de la Victoire de Verdun: les Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux* (*ibid.*, October 1, 15); General Malletterre, *Le Front Italien, 1915-1916* (*ibid.*, October 1); C. Stiénon, *Une Campagne Coloniale: sur le Chemin de Bagdad* (*ibid.*, September 1); R. Blanchard, *Front d'Asie* (Revue de Paris, August 15); General Fonville, *L'Unité d'Action sur l'Unité de Front* (*ibid.*, September 15); G. Hano-taux, *Théorie de la Bataille des Frontières* (Revue Hebdomadaire, July 22); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Les Opérations de Débarquement* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The October number of *History* (the organ of the Historical Association) contains a paper by Professor A. F. Pollard, editor of the journal, on the Growth of an Imperial Parliament; the completion of Miss

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Constantia Maxwell's paper on the Colonization of Ulster; and an article on Ludlow, presented as a study in local history, by Dr. J. E. Morris.

The Manorial Society, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E. C., has reprinted the first edition, 1510, of the *Modus tenendi Cur' Baron' cum Visu Franci Plegii*, together with translations and an introductory note by Charles Greenwood. The British Museum copy from which this reprint is made is believed to be unique.

Miss Ethel B. Sainsbury's *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company* has in the most recent volume covered the years 1655-1659 (Clarendon Press).

The Letters of John Wesley, edited by the Rev. George Eayrs (Hodder and Stoughton), contains some letters hitherto unpublished.

The Oxford University Press has issued a brief study of *British Colonial Policy, 1783-1915*, by C. H. Currey.

Mr. E. S. Roscoe, registrar of the admiralty division of the High Court of Justice, has completed a *Life of Lord Stowell, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty from 1798 to 1828*, which traces the development of British prize law to the present day. Messrs. Methuen are to publish the volume.

Cambridge University Press has published a biography of *Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville*, by J. A. Lovat-Fraser.

Miss Mary F. Sandars, in *The Life and Times of Queen Adelaide* (Stanley Paul), in addition to her study of the queen describes certain minor influences opposed to Reform.

The Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell has, in a style comparable with that of McCarthy's *Portraits of the Sixties*, prepared *Portraits of the Seventies* (Fisher Unwin), containing reminiscences of Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Parnell, and others.

From Sail to Steam (repeating regrettably the title of Admiral Mahan's well-known volume) is a volume of naval recollections covering the years 1878-1905 by Admiral C. C. Penrose Fitzgerald (London, Jenkins).

A. Legris has written *Saint Laurent O'Toole (Saint Laurent d'Eu), Archevêque de Dublin, 1128-1180* (Rouen, Cacheux, 1914, pp. ix, 152).

The first volume of a *History of the Irish Dominicans*, by M. H. MacInerny (Dublin, Browne and Nolan, 5 vols.) has appeared, dealing with *Irish Dominican Bishops, 1224-1307*, and containing many documents here first published.

Recent Irish history may gain some side-lights from *The Reminiscences of the Right Hon. Lord O'Brien (of Kilfenora), Lord Chief Justice of Ireland*.

The Irish rebellion of 1916 is the subject of two volumes issued by Messrs. Maunsell, *A History of the Irish Rebellion*, by W. B. Wells and N. Marlowe, and *The Insurrection in Dublin*, by James Stephens.

Among forthcoming volumes in the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* is one on the history of Australia by J. W. Gregory.

British government publications: *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (Chancery), 2 vols., 1219-1349; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Henry VII., II., 1494-1509; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1706-1708, ed. Cecil Headlam.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. Firth, *The Study of British Foreign Policy* (Quarterly Review, October); Caroline A. J. Skeel, *The Canary Company* (English Historical Review, October); L. M. Sears, *Purveyance in England under Elizabeth* (Journal of Political Economy, October); E. R. Turner, *Committees of the Privy Council, 1688-1760* (English Historical Review, October); H. Clement, *Histoire d'un Réformateur, Robert Owen* (La Réforme Sociale, August); H. D. Davray, *L'Oeuvre et le Prestige de Lord Kitchener* (Mercure de France, September 16); Wallace Notestein, *The Career of Mr. Asquith* (Political Science Quarterly, September); General Mallette, *La Transformation Militaire de l'Angleterre, 1914-1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); Edward Krehbiel, *Geographical Influences in British Elections* [with maps] (Geographical Review, December); Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, *The Suitors of the Sheriff Court* (Scottish Historical Review, October); G. Neilson, ed., *Scotstarvet's "Trew Relation"* [concl.] (*ibid.*); St. J. G. Ervine, *The Story of the Irish Rebellion* (Century, November).

FRANCE

General review: R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure du Premier et du Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

E. Clouzot has prepared three volumes of *Dépouillement d'Inventaires et de Catalogues* (Paris, Leroux, 1916) for the *Répertoire des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris*, edited by M. Poète.

The third volume of Camille Enlart's *Manuel d'Archéologie Française depuis les Temps Mérovingiens jusqu'à la Renaissance* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. xxix, 614, figs. 480) deals with costume. The first volume, which dealt with ecclesiastical architecture, will shortly appear in a revised edition.

In the series of *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France* published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, L. Delisle and E. Berger have edited the *Recueil des Actes de Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, concernant les Provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1916, vol. I., pp. vii, 588). H. F. Delaborde has edited the *Recueil des Actes de Philippe-Auguste, Roi de France* (*ibid.*, vol. I., 1179-1194, pp. xi, 575).

The relation of the court to the Parlement during the whole period from 1345 to 1610 is considered by reigns in the third volume of E. Maugis's *Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'Avènement des Rois Valois à la Mort d'Henri IV.* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. xliii, 360).

The latest publications of the Société de l'Histoire de France are the *Journal de Clément de Fauquembergue, Greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1417-1435* (Paris, Laurens, 1915, vol. III., 1431-1436, pp. xc, 298) edited by A. Tuetey and H. Lacaille; the *Mémoires de Louis Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, dit le Jeune Brienne* (*ibid.*, 1916, vol. I., pp. 363) edited by P. Bonnefon; and the *Lettres du Duc de Bourgogne au Roi d'Espagne Philippe V. et à la Reine* (*ibid.*, 1916, vol. II., 1709-1712, pp. lxxxv, 273) edited by A. Baudrillart and L. Lecestre.

The fourth volume of *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France* edited by Julien Hayem (Paris, Hachette, 1916, pp. vii, 323) is composed of articles on the industry and commerce of southern France, chiefly in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting one deals with the relations between Bordeaux and the Hanseatic cities.

The law thesis of Pierre Roux on *Les Fermes d'Impôts sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Rousseau, 1916, pp. xxxi, 664) is of unusual thoroughness.

A translation of the third volume (in order of appearance, not chronological order) of the *National History of France* has been issued by Messrs. Heinemann. This is the volume on *The French Revolution* by Louis Madelin, whose knowledge of the subject and whose skill as a writer have produced a narrative of unusual interest.

Messrs. Henry Holt expect soon to publish *The French Revolution and Napoleon*, by Professor C. D. Hazen, now of Columbia University.

Volume XV., nos. 3 and 4, of the *University Studies* of the University of Nebraska contains a careful study by Miss Ethel L. Howie on the *Counter Revolution of June-July, 1789: Rôle of the Assembly from June 3 to July 11.*

A monograph on the removal of the royal family from Versailles to Paris, entitled *Storia di Due Giornate della Rivoluzione Francese, 5-6 Ottobre 1789* (Spoleto, Tip. dell' Umbria, 1916, pp. 382), is by C. di Somma and C. Bandini.

Duc Georges de Leuchtenberg has written a volume on his ancestor, *Le Prince Eugène de Beauharnais à la Tête de la Grande Armée, 16 Janvier-15 Avril 1813* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915, pp. xxii, 338).

Some interesting volumes of biography for the period from the Restoration to the Revolution of 1848 have recently appeared. General Derrécagaix is the biographer of *Le Maréchal de France, Comte Harispe, 1768-1855* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916). Dr. H. Moulinié has edited the

Lettres Inédites du Vicomte de Bonald, Député, 1815-1823. Pair de France, 1823-1830, à Madame Victor de Sèze (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. xviii, 160). Abbé C. Guillemant has published the first volume of a life of *Pierre-Louis Parisis* (Paris, Gabalda, 1916, pp. xxiii, 456), which relates to his career as bishop of Langres. The ex-premier Louis Barthou is the author of *Lamartine Orateur* (Paris, Hachette, 1916).

A little known problem is investigated by F. Marullaz in *La Vérité sur la Zone Franche de la Haute-Savoie, Nature, Origines, et Valeur en Droit, Conditions Actuelles, Avenir* (Thonon-les Bains, Dubouloz, 1916, pp. 232).

Édouard Driault, in co-operation with C. Schefer, has issued a second volume of *La République et le Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1916), which deals with the economic questions. The same subject is also treated in *La Grande Question d'Occident: le Rhin dans l'Histoire* (Paris, Leroux, 1916) by Ernest Babelon. The first volume deals with ancient times, and medieval and modern times will be the subject of a second volume which is in press. The work narrates the history of the perpetual struggle between the Gauls or French and the Germans for the Rhine frontier. G. Hanotaux has collected a series of *Études Diplomatiques et Historiques pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Mathorez, *Les Éléments de Population Orientale en France* (Revue des Études Grecques, January); A. Michel, *L'Art "Gothique" Oeuvre de France* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); F. Aubert, *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Parlement de Paris, Période d'Organisation, 1250-1350*, II. (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, April); J. Viard, *La Cour (Curia) au Commencement du XIV^e Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January); C. Bémont, *Les Institutions Municipales de Bordeaux au Moyen Age: la Mairie et la Jurade* (Revue Historique, September); R. Gonnard, *L'Émigration Française jusqu'au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue d'Économie Politique, July); P. Heckmann, *Félix de Wimpffen et le Siège de Thionville en 1792*, I.-III. (Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, October, January, April); R. Vallentin du Cheylard, *Après le Siège de Toulon*, I. (*ibid.*, April); J. Viénot, *Un Honnête Homme sous le Directoire: la Revellière-Lépeaux*, I., II. (Revue Chrétienne, June, July); L. de Lanza de Laborie, *La Haute Administration de l'Enseignement sous le Consulat et l'Empire, Roederer, Fourcroy, Fontanes, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); F. Masson, *L'Impératrice Joséphine et le Prince Eugène, 1804-1814, d'après leur Correspondance Inédite*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); H. Cochin, *Impressions d'un Bourgeois de Paris pendant le Siège et la Commune, Charles Aubert-Hix*, I. (*ibid.*, August 1); XXX., *M. Delcassé* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); L. Madelin, *Une Heure Solennelle de l'Histoire de France, la Victoire de la Marne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 16).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

In a series of *Regesti Cassinesi*, there have appeared *Regesto dell' Antica Badia di S. Matteo de Castello o Servorum Dei* (1914), and *Regesto di Tommaso Decano o Cartolario del Convento Cassinese* (Badia di Montecassino, 1915, pp. lvii, 360) edited by M. Inguañez, who has also published in the *Archivi Italiani*, January, 1916, *Cataloghi dei Codici di Prepositure e Chiese Cassinesi nei Secoli XI.-XV.*, *Notizie estratte dell' Archivio di Montecassino*. Father Inguañez has also issued the first part of *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus cura et studio Monachorum S. Benedicti Archicoenobii Montis Casini* (Montecassino, 1915) to replace the superannuated *Bibliotheca Casinensis*. The work will extend to seven volumes, each issued in two parts.

Contributions to the so-called history of civilization in Italy have been made by G. Natali in *Idee, Costumi, Uomini del Settecento* (Turin, Sten, 1916, pp. 357), and by L. Zenoni in *Per la Storia della Cultura in Venezia dal 1500 al 1797* (Venice, Tip. Emiliana, 1916, pp. xvi, 435).

A. M. P. Inglod has made a thorough study of *Bénévent sous la Domination de Talleyrand et le Gouvernement de Louis de Beer, 1806-1815* (Paris, Tequi, 1916).

F. L. Rogier, *La R. Accademia Militare di Torino, Note Storiche, 1816-1870* (Turin, Bona, 1916, pp. xiii, 371, 439); F. Dal Pozzo, *Dieci Mesi di Carteggio di Ferdinando Dal Pozzo, 24 Agosto 1831-2 Giugno 1832* (Pavia, Tip. Artigianelli, 1916, pp. viii, 127); A. Maurici, *Il Regime Dispotico del Governo d'Italia in Sicilia dopo Aspromonte, Sett. 1862-Dic. 1863* (Palermo, Priulla, 1915, pp. 335); and A. Savelli, *L'Anno Fatale per l'Italia, 1866* (Milan, Vallardi, 1916, pp. 284) are among the more important recent volumes on the Risorgimento.

The volume by Miss Helen Zimmern on *Italian Leaders of To-day* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1915, pp. 313) contains sketches of Victor Emmanuel III., Salandra, Sonnino, Martini, Giolitti, Luzzatti, Barzilai, and Bissolati with briefer accounts of the leading army and navy officers.

A *Bibliografia Storica della Città e Provincia di Vicenza* (Vicenza, Tip. S. Giuseppe, 1916, pp. 816) has been compiled by S. Rumor.

The Reorganization of Spain by Augustus, a study by J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, appears as an issue of the *University of California Publications in History*, vol. IV., no. 2. Besides a competent and scholarly treatment of its main theme, with an especially intelligent discussion of the municipal cult of Roma and Augustus, the writer surveys the preceding history of Roman administration in Spain, and in respect to the ensuing century presents an estimate of the permanence of the work of Augustus.

There is published as an annex to the March, 1916, issue of *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* a portion of a *Guia Histórica y De-*

scriptiva de los Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos Arqueológicos de España dealing with the National Library in Madrid.

A. Paz y Melia is editing a *Serie de los más importantes Documentos del Archivo y Biblioteca del Excelentísimo Señor Duque de Medinaceli*, of which the first volume (Madrid, Alemana, 1915, pp. xxviii, 482) contains historical documents for the period from 860 to 1814. The work is being done under the direction of the present duke and at his expense.

The third volume of *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca* (Salamanca, Imp. Católica Salmanticense, 1916, pp. 1069) by Father Justo Cuervo has recently appeared.

Dr. Charles H. Haring of Yale University has in preparation a volume on *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies under the Hapsburgs*.

Some recent studies in Aragonese history are *El Cautiverio de la Corona de Aragón durante los Siglos XIII., XIV., y XV.* (Saragossa, Maneru, 1915, pp. 188, lxxxvi) by J. M. Ramos y Loscertales; *La Frontera Catalano-Aragonesa, Estudi Geografico-Linguistic* (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1914, pp. 123) by A. Grieria i Gaja; and *Geografia Histórica del Territorio de la actual Provincia de Murcia desde la Reconquista por D. Jaime I. de Aragón hasta la Época Presente* (Madrid, Imp. de Patronato de Huérfanos de Intendencia e Intervención Militares, 1915, pp. 516), by A. Merino Alvarez.

R. Ramirez de Arellano is the author of an *Estudio sobre la Historia de la Orfebrería Toledana* (Toledo, Imp. Provincial, 1915, pp. 431).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Scaccia-Scarafoni, *Memorie Storiche della Badia di S. Sebastiano nel Territorio Alatrino*, I. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 1); Anonymous, *Vincenzo Gioberti e i Gesuiti* (Civiltà Cattolica, September 2, October 7, 21); J. Destrée, *Sidney Sonnino* (Revue de Paris, September 15); A. y P. Ballesteros, *Alfonso X. de Castilla y la Corona de Alemania*, I., II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January, March); M. Cubells, *Documentos Diplomaticos Aragoneses, 1259-1284* (Revue Hispanique, June); Anonymous, *Cartas y Documentos relativos al Gran Capitán* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, March).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A study of *Das Tempelherren Orden in Deutschland* (Bamberg, Kirsch, 1915, pp. iv, 266) was published by M. Schüpferling some time since.

As no. 1 of the second volume of *Smith College Studies in History*, Professor Sidney B. Fay publishes two valuable chapters on the Hohenzollern Household and Administration in the Sixteenth Century, relating especially to the reign of Joachim II.

La Monarchia degli Absburgo, Origini, Grandezza, e Decadenza, con Documenti Inediti, 800-1915, Storia Politica, Costituzionale e Amministrativa, con speciale Risguardo alle Provincie Italiane (Rome, Bontempelli, 1915, pp. xi, 317, 296) is the subject of two volumes by Alessandro Dudan.

Die Täuferbewegung im Kanton Zürich bis 1660 (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1916, pp. xi, 176) by Dr. Cornelius Bergmann is published in the *Quellen und Abhandlungen des Zwinglivereins*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 2); F. Momigliano, *Amedeo Fichte e le Caratteristiche del Nazionalismo Tedesco* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); H. Haralds, *Den Tyska Förbundsstatens Uppkomst, Historisk Inledning till Tyska Rikets och Preussens Statsförfattningar* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, June); G. Bonet-Maury, *L'Évolution de l'Opinion Publique en Allemagne, 1915-1916* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, August).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The German occupation of Belgium is the subject of *Huit Mois avec les "Boches" dans le Luxembourg Belge, Août 1914-Avril 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916), by P. Torn; of *La Belgique sous le Joug, 1914-1915, l'Invasion* (*ibid.*), by F. Olüff; and of *La Belgique et les Juristes Allemands* (Paris, Payot, 1916), by Professor Charles de Visscher of the University of Ghent.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Gandolphe, *Chez les Neutres, Enquête en Hollande* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); Un Belge, *Les Devoirs de la Diplomatie Belge* (Revue de Paris, August 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

As a manual for students of the subject Jon Stefansson's *Denmark and Sweden with Iceland and Finland* (Fisher Unwin), a volume in the *Story of the Nations* series, will be found useful.

A volume on *Soekrigen i de Dansknorske Farvande, 1807-1814, fra Tabet af Flaaden til Freden i Kiel* (Copenhagen, Lund, 1915, pp. 508) is an exhaustive study by C. F. Wandel.

Dr. Robert J. Kerner of the University of Missouri has recently compiled *A Selected Bibliography of Slavic Europe in the Western European Languages, comprising History, Languages, and Literatures*. The divisions of the volume are: the Slavs, the Russians, the Poles, Slavs in the German Empire, Bohemians and Slovaks, and the Southern Slavs.

F. P. Giordani, in his *Storia della Russia secondo gli Studi più Recenti* (Milan, Treves, 1916, 2 vols.), devotes the first volume to the period prior to Peter the Great, and covers from that time to the present in the second volume.

The Oxford University Press, under the title *The Tale of the Armament of Igor, a Russian Historical Epic*, edited and translated by Leonard A. Magnus, has published with Russian text, English translation, and abundant apparatus, one of the oldest documents of Russian literature, describing with many embellishments the expedition of Igor, prince of Novgorod-Seversky, against the heathen Polovtsi, in 1185.

Russia, Mongolia, China, 1224-1676, being some Record of the Relations between them from the Tartar Invasion of Europe to the Death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich (Macmillan), is in part based on manuscript journals of Russian envoys, in the Moscow archives.

Modern Russian History, by Alexander Kornilov, translated by Alexander S. Kaun, has been published by Alfred A. Knopf.

Dodd, Mead, and Company have published *Poland: its Social and Economic History*, by A. Zeleski.

The Abbé A. Berga has presented as his thesis for the doctorate at the Sorbonne *Pierre Skarga, 1536-1612, Étude sur la Pologne du XVI^e Siècle et le Protestantisme Polonais* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1916, pp. 374). The volume contains an introductory survey of Polish history which is of special value for the period of the Reformation. The career of the famous Jesuit is narrated with minute detail and his work as a preacher fully analyzed. An accompanying volume contains a French translation of *Les Sermons Politiques de Pierre Skarga, Prédicateur du Roi de Pologne Sigismond III., Sermons de Diète, 1597* (*ibid.*, pp. 188). It may be noted that there is a recent work by T. Grabowski in Polish on *Peter Skarga and the Catholic Religious Literature in Poland in the Sixteenth Century, 1536-1612* (Cracow, 1913, pp. x, 647).

Stanislas Smolka has written *L'Europe et la Pologne à la Veille et au Lendemain de son Démembrement* (Rome, Spithoever, 1915, pp. 147).

The peoples of the Balkans are the subject of the second volume of *Les Races Belligérantes* (Paris, Attinger, 1916) by Eugène Pittard. The racial problems of the Balkans are also the subject of *La Question de la Transylvanie et l'Unité Politique Roumaine* (Paris, Jouve, 1916) by M. R. Sirianu, and of *La Yougoslavie* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. 264) by Pierre de Lanux.

Capt. H. W. V. Temperley, tutor in history and fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, has recently published *A History of Serbia* (London, Bell), in which he attempts to show the effect of geographical conditions both on Serbia's past and future.

L'Hellénisme et le Panславisme, Étude de Droit International Conventionnel (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1916, pp. 112) by A. Pattaras, and *Le Déclin de l'Hellénisme* (Paris, Payot, 1916) by L. P. Alaux and René Puaux, deal with the Greek phase of the Eastern Question. Dr.

Léon Maccas has written *Ainsi Parla Vénizélos, Étude de Politique Extérieure Grecque* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. ix, 319), and the Cretan statesman's own views on the successive events of Balkan history as related to Greece during the last five years will be found in E. Vénizélos, *La Politique de la Grèce* (Paris, Imprimerie de l'Est, 1916).

The problem of Constantinople and of the Dardanelles is the subject of recent volumes by Dr. C. Ibañez de Ibero on *D'Athènes à Constantinople, la Situation Politique en Orient* (Paris, Attinger, 1916); by an anonymous German diplomat on *Les Dessous de la Politique en Orient* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. xli, 270); by N. Dascovici, on *La Question du Bosphore et des Dardanelles* (Geneva, Georg, 1915); and by M. Hoshchiller on *L'Europe devant Constantinople* (Paris, Rivière, 1916, pp. 150).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Fahlbeck, *Studier öfver Frihetstidens Politiska Idéer* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, December, 1915, February, April, 1916); A. Montgomery, *En Studie i Svensk Valutapolitik vid Midten af 1700-talet* (*ibid.*, September); A. Linvald, *Pressefrihed i Danmark for Hundrede Aar Siden* (Tilskueren, September); Salih Munir Pacha, *La Russie en Orient: son Rôle Historique* (Revue Politique Internationale, May); G. Cahen, *Le Cinquantenaire du Zemstvo, 1864-1914* (Revue de Paris, October 1); N. Roubakine, *La Réaction Russe et son Évolution* (Revue Politique Internationale, May, July); D. Bellet, *Arkangel et les Chemins de Fer Septentrionaux de la Russie* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); William Miller, *The Medieval Serbian Empire* (Quarterly Review, October); Sir Edwin Pears, *The Balkan States and Turkey [1877-1916]* (Contemporary Review, October); E. Daudet, *Le Suicide Bulgare, Autour d'une Couronne, Notes et Souvenirs, 1878-1915, I.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1).

THE FAR EAST

Ghenkō, the Mongol Invasion of Japan (London, Smith Elder, 1916, pp. xx, 276) by Nakaba Yamada is an account of three attempted invasions of Japan by Kublai Khan, of which the second is compared to the Spanish Armada.

The Hakluyt Society will soon issue the fourth and last volume of Professor Cordier's edition of the late Colonel Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*.

Among recent volumes of *Variétés Sinologiques, Publications des Missions de Chine* (Paris, Challamel) is *La Hiérarchie Catholique en Chine, en Corée, et au Japon, 1307-1914*, by Father J. de Moidrey.

G. Soulié has made a study of *Les Droits Conventionnels des Étrangers en Chine* (Paris, Tenin, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: André Bellessort, *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon: François de Xavier*, V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington the chief feature marking the six months from November to April is the presence of Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University in the capacity of "research associate". Dr. Paullin has finished the maps relative to international boundaries, and the accompanying letter-press, for the Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, and has begun work on the problems concerning state and territorial boundaries. Professor Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Papeles de Cuba* and Professor Golder's *Guide to the Russian Archives* are expected to be published in January. Miss Davenport's first volume of European treaties having a bearing on American history, to 1648, is in the printer's hands. Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College is expected to spend the summer in London preparing a portion of a *Guide* to the archives of the British West Indies, the portion which will describe the West Indian section of the Colonial Office Papers, as a natural complement to the description of the island archives. The survey of the latter must await the termination of the war. Meanwhile, however, Señor Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives, has recently prepared at Kingston a careful inventory of the archives of Jamaica. Of the ten sets of photographs made by the Department in Seville from the regular series of despatches addressed by the Spanish governors of Louisiana to the captain-general of Havana, 1768-1791—sets numbering about 3000 photographs, sold at \$300 each—five have been sold immediately.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has received, by the means just named, 2989 photographs of official despatches from the Archives of the Indies at Seville; a body of transcripts from the same archives, chiefly from the Audiencia de Mexico and the Audiencia de Guadalajara, including correspondence of the viceroys, the Rendon-Miralles correspondence, etc., many of them relating to the American Revolution and to Texas and the Southwest; transcripts from the Archives Nationales, Paris, of correspondence between the colonial officials in Louisiana and the home office, 1752-1766 (vols. 36 to 46 of series C¹³); transcripts from the Public Record Office, London, from the Colonial Office series, class 5, relating chiefly to Virginia, and some transcripts from the Fulham Palace Library; John Bozman Kerr's Memoir of Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek; two volumes (record books) of semi-official letters of General William T. Sherman, 1866-1881; and a body of manuscripts (1793-1893), chiefly scientific, of Lewis R. Gibbs, professor in Charleston College.

The printed *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1916, contain a detailed list by Professor George L. Kittredge of Cotton Mather's contributions to the Royal Society—contributions large in amount and very respectable in quality; Isaiah Thomas's diary for 1808, with some extracts from earlier years; and a vocabulary of the Nootka and some other of the Northwestern languages, dating from 1791 and edited by Franz Boas. The bibliography of American newspapers (to 1820) is continued from Michigan to New Hampshire. At the October meeting, Mr. Otis G. Hammond presented a paper on the Mason Title; Mr. George A. Plimpton, one on the horn-book in America, and Mr. Frank Cundall, one on the early press and printers of Jamaica.

Under the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer, an important series of prizes has been established, the awards for which will be made for the first time at the commencement of Columbia University next June. One of these is a prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year (in the first instance, the year 1916) upon the history of the United States. The jury to make recommendations for this prize will be chosen by the American Academy of Arts and Letters from its own membership and that of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

D. Appleton and Company have brought out a thoroughly revised and largely rewritten edition of Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*.

The Story of the United States, by R. D. W. Connor, has been brought out in Raleigh by the Thompson Publishing Company. The history is written particularly for young Americans.

Our Nation in the Building, by Miss Helen Nicolay, has been published by the Century Company.

Professor William Macdonald has brought out a new and enlarged edition of his *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1913* (Macmillan).

The Middle Group of American Historians is the title of a volume by Professor John Spencer Bassett, which the Macmillan Company will soon publish.

Dr. Edward Stanwood's *History of the Presidency* has appeared in a new edition, brought down to 1916 (Houghton Mifflin Company).

Form and Functions of American Government, by Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of California, is one of a series of *Government Handbooks* projected by the World Book Company. Professor Reed is also joint editor, with Professor David P. Barrows, of the series.

State Constitution-Making, with Special Reference to Tennessee, by Wallace McClure, is described as "a review of the more important provisions of the state constitutions and current thought upon constitutional questions, and an outline of constitutional development and problems in Tennessee" (Nashville, Marshall and Bruce Company).

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have lately published, or are about to publish, the *Life and Times of David Humphreys, 1752-1815*, by Frank L. Humphreys; the *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving*, edited by George S. Hellman; and the *Story of the Trust Companies*, by Edward T. B. Perine.

In the series of *Columbia Studies*, Mr. Maxwell Ferguson has written *State Regulation of Railroads in the South*, which is to be part of a larger work. The present volume deals with those states east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio River.

The Tide of Immigration, by Frank Julian Warne, chiefly a study of the immigration problem as it confronts the United States to-day, comes from the press of D. Appleton and Company.

A List of References on Child Labor, compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer of the Library of Congress, with the assistance of Miss Laura A. Thompson, librarian of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, has been issued by the Government Printing Office (Industrial Series, no. 3, *Bureau Publication* no. 18).

The September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains the first installment of a history, by the Rev. John Lenhart, of the Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655). The Life of Father Peter de Smet, by the Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan, and the Life of Bishop Conwell, by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, are concluded in this number of the *Records*.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A volume on *George Washington*, by William H. Rideing, has been added to Macmillan's series of *True Stories of Great Americans*. This story of Washington's life is designed especially for young people.

Colonel Robert Magaw, the Defender of Fort Washington (pp. 60), by Professor Charles F. Himes, published by the Hamilton Library Association of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is a readable sketch of Magaw's career as an officer of the Revolution. The narrative concerns in large measure military history and incidents about Boston as well as at Fort Washington. The pamphlet appears to be a reprint from a newspaper article and contains such typographical errors as are incident to newspaper printing.

Our First War in Mexico, by Farnham Bishop, has recently been issued by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Recent works on Lincoln are: *Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government*, by B. A. Ulrich (Chicago Legal News); and *How We Elected Lincoln*, by A. J. Dittenhoefer, said to be the last living Lincoln presidential elector (Harper).

The Fight for the Republic, an account of the significant events of the War of Secession, by Rossiter Johnson, comes from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A Vindication of the Military Career of General George B. McClellan: a Lawyer's Brief, by J. H. Campbell, is from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

Mrs. Florence M. H. Hall, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, has written *The Story of the Battle Hymn of the Republic*, which Harper and Brothers have published.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Jeffersonian Democracy in New England, by W. A. Robinson, an essay which won the John Addison Porter prize of Yale University in 1913, has been published by the Yale University Press.

The Maine Historical Society has just issued volume XXIII. of its *Documentary History of Maine*, being the nineteenth of the volumes called "Baxter Manuscripts". The volume contains letters and documents connected with the Indian tribes of Maine during the period from February, 1689, to the end of 1753. The succeeding volume, soon to be published, will conclude this subject.

The New Hampshire Historical Society has printed in a pamphlet of 42 pages, with plates, a *History of the Seal and Flag of the State of New Hampshire*, by Otis G. Hammond.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October contains a brief article, by J. R. Hutchinson, of Cliffords Inn, London, entitled the Mayflower: her Identity and Tonnage.

The state of Massachusetts has published, in its series of such records, *Vital Records of Chelsea to the Year 1850*, compiled by T. W. Baldwin.

In the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Francis B. C. Bradlee's paper on the Eastern Railroad: an Historical Account of Early Railroad in Eastern New England, is continued, and the Journal of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks (1778-1779) is concluded.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has recently received a collection of manuscripts known as the Richard Ward Greene and the Albert C. Greene collection. This collection contains about 20,000 letters and historical documents dating from 1750 to 1850 and about 20,000 legal briefs and opinions relating to the same period, together with about 50,000 receipts and invoices and a number of account-books and ledgers. It contains much valuable material on the Revolution and the political conditions of the period following it; it is indeed by far the largest and most valuable collection of Rhode Island documents that deals with this

period. The society has also obtained the original manuscript book of the Know-Nothing Party of Rhode Island for the years 1854-1856.

The *Records and Papers* of the Westerly Historical Society for the years 1915 and 1916 includes Old Time Lotteryville, by Mrs. James O. Babcock; the Providence and New London Turnpike, by N. H. Lanphear; the Watch Hill Road, by A. P. Pendleton; and the Rise and Progress of Friends in Westerly and Vicinity, by Mrs. E. B. Foster.

The *Roll and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War, 1710-1711*, has been edited for the Acorn Club by Thomas Buckingham (New Haven, Tuttle).

In the forthcoming volume (series III., volume X.) of the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, Professor W. H. Siebert has an interesting paper on the Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The University of the State of New York, School Libraries Division, has printed, in a pamphlet of 40 pages, a list of books relating to the history of the state.

The Division of Archives and History in the State Education Department of New York is about to begin the issue of two series of leaflets, one to be entitled "New York State History Source Leaflets", and to begin with the material respecting Verrazano and his visit to New York harbor, and the other to be called "New York State Local History Leaflets", and to begin with material on Bedford Corners and its part in the Battle of Long Island. Both will be illustrated.

The *Proceedings* (vol. XIV.) of the New York Historical Association at its sixteenth annual meeting, held at Utica in October, 1914, includes the excellent presidential address of the Hon. Grenville M. Ingersbe on the Interpretation of History, a study, by Dr. Adelbert Moot, of the Constitutional Development of New York, and papers on several phases of regional history. A number of these relate to the Mohawk Valley: Forts and Block-Houses in the Mohawk Valley, by Nellie M. Crouse; Early Institutions of Learning in the Mohawk Valley, by C. A. Richmond; the History of Transportation in the Mohawk Valley, by W. G. Mayer; the Palatines in the Mohawk Valley, by W. W. Ellsworth; and Indian Raids in the Mohawk Valley, by W. M. Beauchamp. A paper by W. A. Moore treats of Some French Influences in the Early Settlement of the Black River Valley, one by President M. W. Stryker of Samuel Kirkland and the Oneida Indians, and one by Dana W. Bigelow is on Baron Steuben. Some of the papers relate to General Herkimer: one by Nelson Green, concerning the Home and Name of General Herkimer, and one by H. J. Cookinham, on the Battle of Oriskany. The last-named writer also gives his Recollections of the Oneida Bar, while O. P. Backus writes concerning the Early Bar of Oneida County. The

Golden Era of Trenton Falls, by Charlotte A. Pitcher, has since been expanded into a book bearing the same title.

The New York State Historical Society held its eighteenth annual meeting at Cooperstown on October 3, 4, and 5. Following are the titles of some of the papers read at the sessions: Our History and Our Schools (the presidential address), by Sherman Williams; New York's Place in Intercolonial Politics, by A. H. Buffinton; the Colonial Land System of New York, by Professor C. W. Spencer; Colonial Schools and Colleges of New York, by Thomas E. Finegan; the Churches and Clergy in Colonial New York, by W. H. Benham; the Colonial Journalism in New York, by Edward P. Mitchell.

The mayor of New York has appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Victor H. Paltsits as chairman, Professor Herbert L. Osgood, Professor Marshall S. Brown, Dr. Austin B. Keep, and Mr. Edward H. Hall, with Dr. C. C. Williamson as secretary, to supervise the printing of the minutes of the Common Council of the city of New York from 1784 to 1831, when the official contemporary printing of these minutes began. The editorial work upon the series, which will embrace several volumes, will be performed by Mr. A. E. Peterson.

In the September *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, Mr. Lydenberg continues his history of that institution by an account of the Lenox Library. The series of such articles, temporarily discontinued, will be resumed and later published in book form.

Mr. George A. Morrison presents in the October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* a "Pay Roll of Sundry Persons employed in publick Service by Hugh Hughes, Deputy Quarter Master for the State of New York, from the first of January to the last of December, 1782", found in the War Department at Washington.

It is announced that Robert H. Dodd will publish a third and enlarged edition of Benjamin F. Thompson's *History of Long Island*, first published in 1839, followed by a second edition in 1843. The new edition is to appear under the editorship of Charles Werner.

The *Kings County Historical Society Magazine* for August comprises chiefly a brief paper by Charles M. Higgins, concerning the battle of Long Island.

Records of the Town of New Rochelle, 1699-1828, transcribed and translated by Jeanne A. Forbes, with an introduction by Caryl Coleman, has been published in New Rochelle, N. Y., by the Paragraph Press.

The Pathfinders of the Revolution: a Story of the Great March into the Wilderness and Lake Region of New York in 1779, by Rev. Dr. William E. Griffis, is from the press of W. A. Wilde Company.

Notes of a Tour through the Western Part of the State of New York, published in Philadelphia in 1829-1830, has been reprinted in Rochester by G. P. Humphrey.

The new edition of the *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, edited by Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, state librarian (Harrisburg, 1916, 2 vols., pp. xvii, 627, 728), published under a statute not admitting of large revision, differs from its predecessor of 1895 by the insertion of a preliminary survey of the field involved, by Dr. George P. Donehoo, and by the execution and better style of the numerous illustrations. A number of appendixes contain additional information obtained since publication of the first edition.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received the collection of "Sanitary Fair" material collected by Dr. Horace Howard Furness. The collection consists of 14 volumes, 141 pamphlets, 1963 manuscripts, 400 photographs, etc.

The July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains two groups of letters from the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One of them includes three letters of Washington (1784), a letter from Capt. Henry W. Archer, the bearer of despatches from General Anthony Wayne to Congress relative to the capture of Stony Point, written to Wayne from Philadelphia, July 28, 1779, a letter (15 pp.) from Samuel Bayard to William Bradford, written from London, June 8 to 17, 1795, and two letters of John Trumbull (1818, 1825). The other group consists principally of letters from William Bradford, jr., to his sister (1777-1778), but includes a letter from James Madison to Bradford, dated March 23, 1778. Other documents in the number are a report of Admiral Sir William Penn to the Naval Board, March 17, 1655, and a letter from Edward Hand, "Burgess", dated March 17, 1789, setting forth some advantages of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as the capital of the United States. In the October number is found a selection of letters from the Dreer Collection of manuscripts, including six from Washington (1782-1798), three from Gen. Nathanael Greene (1779-1781), one from Gen. Edward Hand to a committee of Congress, written from Fort Pitt, December 21, 1777, and one (October 24, 1781) from Gen. William Heath to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts. There are also four letters of Franklin (1754-1776), and six letters of "signers" "in active service", namely: John Hancock, Oliver Wolcott, William Ellery, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Rush, and Caesar Rodney. There is an article entitled Who built the First United States Navy, by Col. H. H. Humphreys.

Delaware Archives, Military Records, vols. IV. and V. (pp. 521, 522-968, xcvi), published in advance of volume III., contain full lists of the Delaware officers and men who served in the War of 1812. Besides muster and pay rolls, many letters and documents have been included. Most of the material has been collected by the Public Archives Commission of the state, the state archives containing no muster or pay rolls when the work was begun.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the Journal of a Voyage from Annapolis to Cherbourg on Board the Frigate *Constitution*, August 1 to September 6, 1811, by David Bailie Warden, is concluded; while Uriah Brown's Journal, the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland (1775-1776), and the Carroll Papers are continued.

Mr. P. Lee Phillips, chief of the Division of Maps and Charts, Library of Congress, will publish early in 1917 *The Beginnings of Washington as described in Books, Maps, and Views*.

Virginia Counties: those resulting from Virginia Legislation (pp. 283), by Morgan P. Robinson, archivist, has been issued as *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library, vol. IX., nos. 1, 2, and 3 (January, April, and July, 1916). Mr. Robinson has pushed his investigation into many quarters and has gathered a great deal of new material concerning the formation of counties in the state. For instance, as many as nine acts of assembly forming counties have been found in the Public Record Office in London, which are either not mentioned in Henning or only by title. The texts of these and of two other recently discovered acts are printed in the volume. Incidental to the search among the county archives some statements of interest concerning the history and condition of county archives have been obtained and are here printed. For convenience of reference the essential material is arranged in an alphabetical, a chronological, a geographical, and even in a "genealogical" arrangement. One part of the work (25 pp.) is an explanation of the origin of county names, and another (68 pp.) is a bibliography arranged by counties. A noteworthy feature of the volume is a set of maps showing the gradual extension of population in Virginia down to 1775. There is an elaborate explanatory preface and also an historical introduction.

The latest *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library (October) is a catalogue of a remarkable collection of French newspapers of 1848-1850, recently presented to the library. Nearly 600 titles are given, mostly of newspapers represented by specimens at least. There is also a set of the *Moniteur Universel*, 1789-1864, said to be the only complete set on this side of the Atlantic.

Arrangements have been made by which the higher history classes of Richmond, Westhampton, and Randolph-Macon colleges have the privilege of working, without compensation, as apprentices in the archival material of the Virginia State Library, on plans concerted between the professors of history and the archivist, and with a certain allowance of collegiate credit to the student.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography continues in the October number the Minutes of the Council and General Court (1622-1629), the letters of William Byrd the First (1685), the series of docu-

ments relating to Virginia in 1678-1679, the "Virginia Gleanings in England", chiefly of genealogical interest, and the Council Papers, 1698-1702. Two interesting documents in the issue are the will of John Baylor (1770), and the abstract of a chancery suit of William and Mary College. This number of the *Magazine* prints some extracts from the *Virginia Gazette*, 1750-1755, and some extracts from King William County records; both are to be continued.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* continues in the October number the Letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., 1861-1862, contributed by the late Miss Kate Mason Rowland.

Campaigns and Battles of the Army of Northern Virginia, by George Wise, is from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860, by Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton, is a recent number of the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*.

The Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina towards Manufacturing and Agriculture, by Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher, a study based chiefly on South Carolina newspapers, appears in the *Washington University Studies*, vol. III., part II., no. 2.

The September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains the address of Professor Archibald Henderson delivered at Nashville in April, 1916, before the joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Tennessee Historical Society, on Richard Henderson: the Authorship of the Cumberland Compact and the Founding of Nashville. A study of the Slave Laws of Tennessee is contributed by H. M. Henry. The documents in this number are a second installment of the papers of Maj. John P. Heiss, which concern in particular the career of the *Union* newspaper in Washington, the Democratic organ established in the beginning of President Polk's administration in place of the *Globe*. The evidence in the case of this somewhat controversial episode is well presented in an introduction to these papers by Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, by Clifton R. Hall, has been issued by the Princeton University Press.

WESTERN STATES

The September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* opens with an article by Professor O. G. Libby, entitled "Some Verendrye Enigmas", and an address by Capt. A. L. Conger on the Function of Military History. These are followed by a valuable paper by Mr. Wayne E. Stevens on the Organization of the British Fur-Trade, 1760-1800, and a survey of historical activities in Canada from July, 1915, to July, 1916, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee. To the section devoted to documents, Dr. M. M. Quaife contributes important papers of James Corbin, a hero of the Fort Dearborn massacre.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's work, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, has come from the press (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 2 vols.).

The April-July issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is a reprint of Gorham A. Worth's *Recollections of Cincinnati from a Residence of Five Years, 1817 to 1821*, a very rare book published in Albany in 1851.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is occupied chiefly with an account of the dedication of the memorial to President Hayes at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio, May 30, 1916. The several addresses delivered on the occasion are included, the most noteworthy from the point of view of the historical student being that of Mr. Charles R. Williams, the biographer of President Hayes.

The September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a paper by Harold Littell on the Development of the City School System of Indiana, 1851-1880. The other articles in this number are a group of reminiscences under the general title the Pioneers of Jefferson County, Terre Haute in 1850, by J. J. Schlicher (the name appears also as Schleicher), and Indiana in 1816, by Merrill Moores.

A Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana: the Story of the State from its Beginning to the Close of the Civil War, and a General Survey of Progress to the Present Time, by G. S. Cottman and M. R. Hyman, is published in Indianapolis with the imprint of M. R. Hyman.

The New Purchase: or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West, by Bernard Rush Hall ("Robert Carlton"), long out of print, has been brought out by the Princeton University Press in a new ("Indiana Centennial") edition, edited by Professor James A. Woodburn.

The January (1916) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains an interesting paper, by Joseph J. Thompson, on Oddities in Early Illinois Laws. The Pacification of the Indians of Illinois after the War of 1812 is a part of a study, by Lizzie M. Brown, of Indian Affairs in Illinois from 1815 to 1820. Three brief papers are reminiscent of Abraham Lincoln: Lincoln at Galesburg, by J. F. Evans, the Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Charleston, by D. D. James, and Personal Reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln, by John W. Vinson. An Historical Sketch of Cahokia Township, Macoupin County, Illinois, is from the pen of Henry B. Blevins (1834-1908), the first white male child born in that township. There is also an interesting letter from General Grant to I. N. Morris, written from Nashville, January 20, 1864, and one from Jesse R. Grant to Morris, September 3, 1867.

The University of Illinois is undertaking the calendaring of all the manuscripts in its collections. The work has been begun by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

Land Tenure in the United States, with special Reference to Illinois (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. V., no. 3), by Dr. Charles L. Stewart, instructor in economics in the University of Illinois, is mainly a study of the farm statistics for Illinois and a presentation of them in their various phases. Conclusions are largely tentative. About one-third of the monograph is devoted to a description of farm operators in Illinois (viewed, for the most part, from the point of view of statistics) and to a consideration of the relation of tenure to rural economic and social conditions in the state.

The Making of Illinois: a History of the State from the Earliest Records to the Present Time, by Irwin F. Mather, has been put forth in Chicago (Flanagan).

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has planned the publication of a series of documents from the Burton Historical Collection, now a part of the Detroit Public Library, to appear at intervals in the form of small pamphlets. He purposes to publish four numbers at all events, the further continuance of the series depending upon the measure of interest taken in the series by the historical public.

Since its organization four years ago last spring, the Keweenaw Historical Society has acquired 415 volumes, 742 reports of mining companies (many old and rare), and 110 miscellaneous pamphlets. The collection, which is cared for in the public library of Houghton, relates mainly to the history of the copper industry in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the Lake Superior region in general. Copper companies and interested individuals supply the necessary funds. The collection is in charge of Mr. J. A. Doelle, secretary of the society, and Mr. L. A. Chase, instructor in history in the Houghton high school.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has brought out as a *Bulletin of Information* a description of the Keyes and the Civil War manuscript collections in the library.

At about the date on which these pages appear, the same society issues vol. XXIII. of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, entitled *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, edited by Miss Louise P. Kellogg. The book is a direct continuation of the "Draper Series" of three volumes put forth in previous years by the Wisconsin Sons of the American Revolution. Volume XXIV. of the *Collections*, continuing the same documentary material from 1779 to 1781, is expected to appear in the summer. The society also has its calendar of Kentucky papers nearly ready for publication.

The July number of *Acta et Dicta*, the organ of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, contains the opening chapter of an engaging life of Bishop Cretin, first bishop of that diocese, by Archbishop Ireland; also histories of the Catholic church in Wright and Goodhue counties, by Rev. Mathias Sava and Rev. James H. Gaughan, respectively, and a

glossary of Chippewa place-names, compiled by the Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. F. M. There are also included some interesting early letters, 1829-1830, of Mathias Loras, first bishop of Dubuque.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* comprises two contributions, an extended article on the Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement, by Jacob Van der Zee, and the second of Miss Ruth A. Gallaher's papers on the Indian Agents in Iowa, being the fourth paper in the entire series of her articles on the Indian agent.

The Iowa State Federation of Labor is a monograph by Dr. Lorin Stuckey, published by the State University of Iowa in its series of *Studies in the Social Sciences* (vol. IV., no. 3, pp. 147). The author takes the view that while the state has rarely been taken as a unit for the study of the labor movement it nevertheless forms a logical and convenient area for such study. The author traces in some introductory chapters the history of the organization, but devotes himself especially to a study of its structure and government, its policies, and its influence.

The Kansas Historical Society has issued, in a pamphlet of 16 pages, *A List of Books indispensable to a Knowledge of Kansas History and Literature*.

The October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* includes a valuable account, by W. L. Newsom, of the Postal System of the Republic of Texas; a sketch, by W. S. Oldham, of Col. John Marshall, editor and soldier; a sketch, by Professor Eugene C. Barker, of Don Carlos Barrett, who played parts of some importance in Texas in 1835 and 1836; two letters of Sam Houston to William S. Oldham (1862 and 1863), contributed by E. W. Winkler; Stockton's Proclamation to the San Diego Insurgents, November 24, 1846, contributed by Professor T. M. Marshall; and a continuation of the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin for November continues the Source Readings in Texas History contributed by Professor Barker.

Dr. J. B. Cranfil's Chronicle: a Story of Life in Texas, written by himself about himself, is described as "a record of the author's full and varied life as a Baptist minister and doctor, much of which was passed in lawless sections amid pioneer conditions" (Revell).

Volume VIII. of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Pierre, 1916, pp. 596) contains, besides matter relating to the state Department of History, and the recent progress of the state, papers on the Early Opportunities for Education in the Territory of Dakota, by Frank Trumbo, on the Beginnings of Day County, by A. C. Roberts, data respecting Dakota military posts, and official correspondence pertaining to the local war of 1862-1865.

The Macmillan Company announces a new edition, "revised and re-written", of Professor Joseph Schaefer's *History of the Pacific Northwest*.

In the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* appears the second of the articles by C. L. Andrews on Alaska under the Russians, the subtitle of this article being Industry, Trade, and Social Life. Other articles are: an account of Black Tamanous, the Secret Society of the Clallam Indians, by Johnson Williams, himself a Clallam Indian and a member of the society; an account, by H. L. Talkington, of the building (1859-1862) of what is known as the Mullan Road, a national road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton on the Missouri; and a narrative of some experiences as a Pioneer of the Spokane Country, by John E. Smith. The diary of Col. and Mrs. I. N. Ebey is continued.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* prints in the June issue some Extracts of Unpublished Reminiscences (1840-1900 ca.), by H. R. Kincaid; Some Documentary Records of Slavery in Oregon, contributed by Fred Lockley; an installment of the Diary of Rev. Jason Lee, which describes the journey from Liberty, Missouri, to the Oregon Country in 1834; and a continuation of the correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher.

Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913: containing the Reminiscences of Harris Newmark, edited by Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark, comes from the Knickerbocker Press. The volume contains 150 illustrations, and records the life of a successful Jewish business man against the background of Southern California's development.

CANADA

The *Report of the Work of the Public Archives* of Canada for the years 1914 and 1915 consists of four appendixes. The first, containing lists of accessions, designates nearly 200 volumes of transcripts from England (Public Record Office, Royal Institution, British Museum, Lansdowne House, Hudson's Bay Company) received in the two years named; nearly 100 from Paris; more than 100 volumes of original papers turned over by the Department of Indian Affairs, and nearly 100 original Loyalist muster-rolls of the Revolutionary period. Appendix B gives the text of a group of papers, of origin not indicated, relating to the surrender of Fort St. Johns and Fort Chambly, in 1775. Appendix C, continuing appendix E of the *Report* for 1913, prints in 255 pages the ordinances made for the province of Quebec by the governor and council, from 1768 till 1791. Appendix D is a second edition, prepared by Mr. Norman Fee, of the archive's *Catalogue of Pamphlets, Journals, and Reports*, made in the same manner as the edition of 1911, but of twice the extent, the number of items listed now being nearly 3000 and the volume embracing 471 pages, with many facsimiles of title-pages. The catalogue can be procured separately.

The first volume of Father Odoric-Maria Jouve, *Les Franciscains dans la Canada*, concerned with the first undertakings of the Recollects,

and entitled *L'Établissement de la Foi, 1625-1629*, has recently been published in Quebec by the Imprimerie des Franciscains Missionnaires.

The Champlain Society expects before long to publish *Select British Documents on the Canadian War of 1812*, in three volumes, edited by Col. William Wood.

The *Life and Letters of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Tupper*, Canadian statesman, by E. M. Saunders, has just been published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company.

The forthcoming report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives (eleventh report) will continue the journals of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada for 1822 and succeeding years.

The *Papers and Records*, vol. XIV., of the Ontario Historical Society has for its principal content an extensive account, by Hon. William R. Riddell, of the rather extraordinary career of Robert (Fleming) Gourlay, whose "whole life is a study in agitation". Landing in Canada in 1817 he plunged into agitations which led to his banishment some two years later; pursued them in England during several years; and resumed them on his return to Canada in the thirties. While he was never disloyal his career has an intimate bearing upon the Canadian rebellion of 1837. Two other briefer articles complete the volume: one, by George S. Hodgins, is on the Heraldry of Canada, and the other, by J. D. Barnett, is an account of an Election without Politics, the scene being Hamilton, Ontario, 1857.

A double number (VII. and VIII., pp. 90) of the *Papers and Records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, reprints, from a pamphlet now rare, a verbatim report of an important debate in 1836, in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, upon the report of a select committee on the relations between the governor and the executive council. An introduction is supplied by Hon. W. R. Riddell, justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.

In the new Parliament buildings in Winnipeg, provision has been made for the preservation and arrangement of the archives of the province of Manitoba. A board of trustees of the archives has been appointed by the provincial government, and the provincial librarian has been given charge of the collection.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Mother of California: an Historical Sketch of Lower California, by Arthur W. North, comes from the press of Paul Elder and Company.

The Hakluyt Society has issued, for 1916, the fifth and last volume of Professor A. P. Maudslay's translation of Bernal Díaz, to which has been added, in an appendix, Cortés's fifth letter.

The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586, by Miss Irene A. Wright, has lately been published by Macmillan.

J. Bécker has edited with introduction and notes the *Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid, Ratés, 1916, pp. 866). The present volume contains the nine books printed at Bogotá in 1906; the hitherto unpublished portion of the work will appear in a later volume.

The second volume of the *Historia de la Guerra del Pacifico* (Valparaíso, Imp. del Universo, 1916), by Gonzalo Bulnes, deals with the invasion of Peru and the capture of Lima.

The Library of Congress expects to publish within the present month a *Guide to the Law and Literature of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile*, prepared by Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, law librarian, similar in plan to the preceding volumes in its series of guides to foreign law.

Father Pablo Pastells, S. J., has just finished the third volume of his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, to be published in Seville by Montero Diaz.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. O. Payne, *The Personal Appearance of Christopher Columbus* (Munsey's Magazine, October); D. R. Anderson, *The Teacher of Jefferson and Marshall* [George Wythe] (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Jacob Tanger, *Amending Procedure of the Federal Constitution* (American Political Science Review, November); Arthur Bullard, *Our Relations with France* (Atlantic Monthly, November); Wells Bennett, *Stephen Hallet and his Designs for the National Capital, 1791-1794* (Journal of the American Institute of Architects, July-October); H. M. Wriston, *Presidential Agents in Diplomacy* (American Political Science Review, August); F. A. Golder, *The Russian Offer of Mediation in the War of 1812* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Milledge L. Bonham, jr., *The Louisiana Police Jury* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); G. W. Hazelton, *Lincoln and the Convention of 1860* (Granite Monthly, October); J. H. Woods, *Stonewall Jackson in West Virginia* (Confederate Veteran, November); A. O. Tuaner, *La Maîtrise du Pacifique et la Diplomatie Yankee au Dix-Neuvième Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 2); M. Boucher de Labrière, *Sir Louis Hippolyte La Fontaine, son Rôle et son Action au Milieu de la Tourmente de 1837-1838*, V. [concl.] (Revue Canadienne, November); Hidalla Simard (W. P. Anderson, translator), *The Seignories of the Saguenay* (Canadian Magazine, September); Father Alexis, *De la Manière d'Écrire l'Histoire au Canada*, V.-VII. (La Nouvelle France, August, September, October); F. García Calderón, *El Panamericanismo, su Pasado y su Porvenir* (Revue Hispanique, June); L. M. Pérez, *Nuevos Documentos sobre las Expediciones de Narciso López* (Cuba Contemporánea, October); F. García Godoy, *La Literatura Dominicana* (Revue Hispanique, June); P. Denis, *La Nationalité Argentine* (Revue des Nations Latines, August).

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY NOW IN PROGRESS AT THE CHIEF AMERICAN UNI- VERSITIES, DECEMBER, 1916

[In 1897 the compiler of this list began the practice of collecting, from professors of American history having charge of candidates for the doctor's degree, lists of the subjects of their dissertations. These were then circulated among the professors, in typewritten form, to avoid duplication and for other purposes. Subsequently the list was enlarged to include all subjects, and not solely the American. In 1902 the practice began of printing the lists. That for December, 1909, was accompanied by a list of those historical dissertations which had been printed. The list for December, 1912, was printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January, 1913; those for December, 1913, 1914, and 1915 in this journal (XIX. 450-465, XX. 484-502, XXI. 421-440). Henceforward it may be expected that such lists will appear annually in the January number of this journal. Copies of the printed lists for the years 1910, 1911, 1914, and 1915 can still be supplied by the compiler, J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.]

GENERAL

- H. E. Barnes, A.B. Syracuse 1913, A.M. 1914. The Contribution of Sociology to the History of Political Theories. *Columbia*.
A. C. Norton, S.B. Temple 1909; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915; A.M. Harvard 1916. Historical Study of the Separation of Powers. *Harvard*.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- C. H. Oldfather, A.B. Hanover 1906. Egyptian Education in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. *Wisconsin*.
A. D. Muir, A.B. McGill 1912. Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Harvard*.
W. E. Caldwell, A.B. Cornell 1910. Development of the Ideas of War and Peace among the Ancient Greeks. *Columbia*.
Lida R. Brandt, A.B. Wellesley 1916. Some Aspects of Greek Society in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries. *Columbia*.
Carl Huth, A.B. Wisconsin 1904, A.M. 1905. Rights and Customs of Sanctuary in Ancient Greece and Rome. *Columbia*.
E. C. Hunsdon, A.B. Barnard 1908. Epigraphic Studies in the History of the Delphic Amphictyony. *Columbia*.
R. V. Cram, A.B. Harvard 1907, A.M. 1908. Studies in the History of Attic Demes. *Harvard*.
H. G. Teel, A.B. Dickinson 1911, A.M. 1912. Athenian Social Conditions represented in the Orations of Lysias. *Columbia*.
C. W. Blegen, A.B. Minnesota 1907; A.B. Yale 1908. Studies in the History of Ancient Corinth. *Yale*.
S. P. R. Chadwick, A.B. Harvard 1892, A.M. 1899. The Conditions of Italian Colonization during the Government of the Roman Senate. *Harvard*.
R. N. Blews, A.B. Greenville 1904; Ph.D. Cornell 1913. The Roman Law of Heraclea. *Cornell*.

- L. A. Lawson, A.B. Upsala 1909; A.M. Columbia 1911. Social Conditions in the Principate of Augustus. *Columbia*.
- E. D. Pierce, A.B. Vassar 1910, A.M. 1912. Asinius Pollio. *Columbia*.
- M. F. Lawton, A.B. Columbia 1904, A.M. 1912. Philanthropy in Rome and Italy under the Early Roman Empire. *Columbia*.
- D. McFayden, A.B. Toronto 1896. Studies in the Reign of Domitian. *Chicago*.
- Margaret Bancroft, A.B. Wellesley 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Popular Assemblies in the Municipalities of Spain and Gaul. *Columbia*.
- Maud Hamilton, A.B. Cornell 1902. The Sources of Metal and Ore Supplies in the Roman Empire. *Wisconsin*.
- J. M. Dadson, A.B. McMaster 1906, A.M. 1909, Th.B. 1909. Persistence of Paganism in the Roman Empire. *Chicago*.
- Elsie S. Jenison, Wellesley 1916. History of the Province of Sicily. *Columbia*.

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

- J. R. Knipfing, A.B. Cornell 1910. The Roman State and Christianity. *Columbia*.
- L. I. Newman, A.B. Brown 1913; A.M. California 1916. Judaizing Christian Movements. *Columbia*.
- W. A. Tilley, A.B. McMaster 1910, Th.B. 1912; A.M. Chicago 1915. Attitude of Eastern Churchmen of the Fourth Century toward Property and Property Rights. *Chicago*.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- T. P. Oakley, A.B. Cornell 1909. The Penitentials. *Columbia*.
- J. B. MacHarg, C.E., A.B., A.M. Cornell 1893; Hamilton 1900-1906; Leipzig University. Medieval Representations of the Trinity. *Columbia*.
- Elizabeth Rogers, A.B. Goucher 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System. *Columbia*.
- Norman Winestine, A.B. Yale 1914. The Attitude of the Papacy toward the Jews to 1216. *Pennsylvania*.
- H. H. Maurer, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1909; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. Feudal Procedure in the Courts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Chicago*.
- A. H. Sweet, A.B. Bowdoin 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Relations of the English Benedictine Houses to the Papacy and the Episcopacy during the Thirteenth Century. *Cornell*.
- T. C. Van Cleve, A.B. Missouri 1911, A.M. 1912. John Holywood's Sphaera. *Wisconsin*.
- W. K. Gotwald, A.B. Wittenberg 1905, A.M. 1910; B.D. Hamma Divinity School 1908. The Church Censure in the Fifteenth Century. *Johns Hopkins*.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- G. E. Nunn, S.B. Chicago 1906; A.M. California 1915. *Geographical Explorations of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. California.*
- A. P. Evans, A.B. Cornell 1911, Ph.D. 1916. *The Sectaries at Nuremberg, 1524-1528; an Episode in the Struggle for Religious Liberty. Cornell.*
- C. L. Grose, A.B. Findlay 1910; A.M. Harvard 1914. *Anglo-French Relations, 1672-1685. Harvard.*
- Frances M. Fay, A.B. Radcliffe 1912, A.M. 1913. *Trade Policy of England and France from 1689 to 1715. Radcliffe.*
- J. V. Fuller, A.B. 1914. *The Second Armed Neutrality. Harvard.*
- Margaret W. Piersol, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. *England and France in the Mediterranean during the Continental System. Pennsylvania.*
- William E. Warrington, S.B. Pennsylvania 1915, A.M. 1916. *The Use of Railroads for Military Purposes in Europe. Pennsylvania.*

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- J. L. Miner, A.B. Allegheny 1909. *The Classical Ideal in English Education. Columbia.*
- A. J. Meyer, A.B. Rutgers 1900; A.M. New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1904. *A History of the Observance of the Lord's Day, with special reference to Great Britain. Columbia.*
- G. D. Hoxsey, A.B. Hobart 1904; A.M. Columbia 1910. *History of the Historiography of the Church of England, to the Death of Queen Anne. Columbia.*
- W. O. Ault, A.B. Baker 1907; A.B. Oxford 1910. *The Private Court in England. Yale.*
- J. E. Miller, A.B. Kansas 1910; A.M. Illinois 1913. *Benefit of Clergy in England. Illinois.*
- James Kenney, A.B. Toronto 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1908. *An Introduction to the Sources for the Early History of Ireland. Columbia.*
- J. L. Moore, A.B. Harvard 1914, A.M. 1915. *The Lawmen and the Justicia. Harvard.*
- C. W. David, B.A. Oxford 1911; A.M. Wisconsin 1912. *Robert Curthose. Harvard.*
- H. H. Holt, A.B. Oxford 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. *The Cost of Living in England, 1172-1183. Wisconsin.*
- H. A. Kellar, A.B. Chicago 1909. *King John: the Interdict and Exchequer. Wisconsin.*
- Frederic Schenck, A.B. Harvard 1909; Litt.B. Oxford 1912; A.M. Harvard 1914. *The Merchants of London in the Reign of Edward I. Harvard.*
- Carl Wittke, A.B. Ohio State 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. *The History of Parliamentary Privilege in England. Harvard.*
- P. G. Mode, A.B. McMaster 1897, A.M. 1898, Th.B. 1899; Ph.D. Chicago

1914. The Influence of the Black Death on the Church in England. *Chicago*.
- R. A. Newhall, A.B. Minnesota 1910, A.M. 1911; A.M. Harvard 1914. The English in Normandy, 1417-1422. *Harvard*.
- Harriett Bradley, A.B. Vassar 1913. Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century in England. *Columbia*.
- Susan M. Lough, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.M. 1909. Administration of Ireland in the time of Elizabeth. *Chicago*.
- E. C. Macklin, A.B. Indiana 1911; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1914. Social and Philanthropic Work of the Church of Scotland in the Seventeenth Century. *Columbia*.
- J. E. Gillespie, A.B. Cornell 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. *Columbia*.
- H. E. Grimshaw, S.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915. Influence on England of India under the Rule of the Company. *Columbia*.
- Anna K. Boutelle, A.B. Minnesota 1904, A.M. 1914. A Biography of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, with special reference to his Colonial Activities. *Minnesota*.
- Ruth E. Marshall, A.B. Minnesota 1913, A.M. 1914. A Political Biography of John Pym. *Minnesota*.
- Sybil I. Fleming, A.B. Minnesota 1915, A.M. 1916. John Hampden: a Political Biography. *Minnesota*.
- K. H. Trout, A.B. Minnesota 1916. History of the Political Career of Denzil Holles. *Minnesota*.
- A. P. Watts, A.B. Occidental 1914; A.M. California 1916. Oliver Cromwell and the Capture of Jamaica, 1655. *California*.
- H. M. Wriston, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. The English Monarchomachs. *Harvard*.
- B. C. Schmitt, A.B. Pennsylvania 1913. John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester: his Life and Works. *Pennsylvania*.
- A. C. Dudley, Princeton Theological Seminary 1907. The Clarendon Code in England, 1660-1689. *Johns Hopkins*.
- P. C. Galpin, A.M. Yale 1907, A.B. 1910. The Rise of Political Non-conformity in England after 1660. *Yale*.
- G. F. Zook, A.B. Kansas 1906, A.M. 1907. The Royal African Company, 1662-1715. *Cornell*.
- Leland Jenks, A.B. Ottawa 1913; A.M. Kansas 1914. Social Aspects of the Revolution of 1688-1689 in England. *Columbia*.
- F. R. Flournoy, A.B. Washington and Lee 1905; A.M. Columbia 1912. The Extent of Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy in Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- J. B. Botsford, A.B. Columbia 1915. The Social Influence of Oversea Expansion on England in the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- Alden Anderson, A.B. Bethany 1910. British Trade in the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.
- E. S. Furniss, A.B. The Social Position of the English Laborer in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.

- R. G. Booth, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan University 1914; A.M. Columbia 1915. Some Social Aspects of the Development of the Natural Sciences in England in the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- Witt Bowden, A.B. Colorado 1914. The English Industrial Revolution as viewed by the People of the Time. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. T. Morgan, A.B. Ohio 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Whig Party, 1700-1720. *Yale*.
- R. L. Tucker, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. Literary Conflicts in Methodism during the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- E. P. Smith, A.B. Goucher 1904; A.M. Columbia 1909. Rise of English Rationalism. *Columbia*.
- A. H. Basye, A.B. Kansas 1904, A.M. 1906. The Board of Trade, 1748-1782. *Yale*.
- N. Macdonald, A.B. Queen's (Kingston) 1913. Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville, 1742-1811. *Cornell*.
- J. A. Woolf, Ph.B. Chicago 1912. Political Theory of Jeremy Bentham. *Chicago*.
- W. F. Galpin, A.B. Northwestern 1913, A.M. 1914. The Grain Trade of England during the Napoleonic Wars. *Pennsylvania*.
- Leland Olds, A.B. Amherst 1912. Social Unrest in England, 1811-1819. *Columbia*.
- R. W. Sockman, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Revival of Monasticism in England in the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- Helen H. Taft, Bryn Mawr 1915. The Development of English Colonial Self-Government during the Nineteenth Century. *Yale*.
- J. H. Park, A.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1913. The English Reform Bills of 1866-1867. *Columbia*.
- M. W. Smith, A.B. Ursinus; A.M. Columbia 1915. Radicalism in the British Tory Party in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

FRANCE

- R. Jornason, A.B. Augustana 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1914. The Dane-geld in France. *Chicago*.
- N. S. Parker, A.B. Chicago 1911; A.M. Harvard 1912. Trade Routes in Southern France in the Middle Ages. *Chicago*.
- C. G. Kelly, A.B. Johns Hopkins 1908, Ph.D. 1916. French Protestantism on the Eve of the Religious Wars, 1559-1562. *Johns Hopkins*.
- F. C. Palm, A.B. Oberlin 1914; A.M. Illinois 1915. The Economic Policies of Richelieu. *Illinois*.
- J. S. Will, A.B. Toronto 1897. The Persecution of the Huguenots in France under Louis XIV. *Columbia*.
- L. B. Packard, A.B. Harvard 1909. Some Antecedents of the *Conseil du Commerce* of 1700. *Harvard*.
- C. O. Hardy, A.B. Ottawa 1904. The Race Question during the French Revolution. *Chicago*.

- O. W. Stephenson, S.B. Michigan Agricultural 1908; A.M. Chicago 1915. *The Genesis of the Girondist Party. Michigan.*
- P. W. MacDonald, A.B. Wisconsin 1910, A.M. 1911. *A Study of the Committee of Public Safety during the Reign of Terror, with regard to its Centralizing Policy and its Relations to the Local Authorities. Wisconsin.*
- Lucy Lewis, A.B. Bryn Mawr 1893; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915. *The Continental System and French Industry. Pennsylvania.*
- Annie Bezanson, A.B. Radcliffe 1915, A.M. 1916. *A Study of the Industrial Revolution in France. Radcliffe.*
- E. T. Kelley, A.B. Missouri 1915, A.M. 1916. *The Relations of England and France during the First Ten Years of the July Monarchy. Pennsylvania.*
- W. W. Jamison, A.B. Yale 1911. *French Industry and Commerce in France, 1830-1848. Harvard.*
- E. P. Brush, A.B. Smith 1909; A.M. Illinois 1912. *Guizot in the Reign of Louis Philippe. Illinois.*
- P. T. Moon, S.B. Columbia 1913. *Development of the Political and Social Programme of the Action Libérale in Modern France. Columbia.*
- E. N. Curtis, A.B. Yale 1901; A.M. Harvard 1904; D.B. Episcopal Theological School 1904. *The Influence of American Political Thought on the Second French Republic. Columbia.*
- D. O. Clark, A.B. Drury 1896; A.M. Illinois 1911. *Cabinet Government in France. Illinois.*

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

- A. F. Peine, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Illinois 1913. *Cola di Rienzi and the Popular Revival of the Empire. Illinois.*
- Keith Vosburg, A.B. California 1910; A.B. Oxford 1913. *The Renaissance at the Neapolitan Court, 1435-1503. Harvard.*
- Gertrude B. Richards, A.B. Cape Girardeau 1909; A.M. Wellesley 1910; Ph.D. Cornell 1915. *Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola. Cornell.*
- C. E. Asnis, A.B. Pennsylvania 1904, LL.B. 1907, A.M. 1913. *The Development of Italy's Position in the Triple Alliance. Pennsylvania.*
- A. Neuman, S.B. Columbia 1909, A.M. 1912. *Jewish Communal Life in Spain during the Thirteenth Century. Columbia.*
- J. G. McDonald, A.B. Indiana 1909, A.M. 1910. *The Spanish Corregidor: Origin and Development. Harvard.*
- R. S. Castleman, Ph.B. Chicago 1914. *Early Emigration from Spain to America. Chicago.*
- F. E. J. Wilde, A.B. Wisconsin 1911, A.M. 1912. *The Career of Don Antonio of Portugal. Wisconsin.*

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- E. Lauer, A.B. Iowa Wesleyan 1908; A.M. Northwestern 1914. The Dominican Order in Germany. *Chicago*.
- K. R. Greenfield, A.B. Western Maryland 1911; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins 1915. Sumptuary Legislation in Nürnberg at the Period of the Reformation. *Johns Hopkins*.
- O. H. Pannkoke, A.B. Concordia 1905. The Interrelation of the Reformation and the Social Movement in Saxony. *Columbia*.
- F. C. Church, A.B. Cornell 1909, Ph.D. 1916. Boniface of Amerbach and his Circle. *Cornell*.
- Mabel E. Hodder, A.B. Syracuse 1895; A.M. Minnesota 1900, Radcliffe 1904; Ph.D. Cornell 1911. Peter Binsfeld and Cornelius Loos: an Episode in the History of Witchcraft. *Cornell*.
- C. P. Higby, A.B. Bucknell 1908, A.M. 1909. The Religious Legislation of the Bavarian Government during the Napoleonic Period. *Columbia*.
- C. F. Lemke, A.B. Wisconsin 1903. The Opposition to Stein's Reforms in Prussia. *Chicago*.
- C. F. Crusius, D.B. Hartford Seminary 1909; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1914; A.M. Columbia 1915. After Effects of Napoleon's Work in Germany. *Columbia*.
- G. K. Osterhus, S.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915. The Zollverein. *Columbia*.
- H. C. M. Wendel, A.B. Princeton 1910. The Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia. *Pennsylvania*.
- V. H. Schleicher, A.B. Indiana 1913; A.M. Columbia 1914. The Opposition to Bismarck in the Prussian Parliament. *Columbia*.
- L. D. Steefel, A.B. Harvard 1916. The Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1863-1864. *Harvard*.
- Rudolph Kastanek, A.B. New York 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915; D.B. Union Theological Seminary. The History of Czech National Movements. *Columbia*.

NETHERLANDS

- H. E. Yutema, A.B. Hope 1912; A.M. Michigan 1913. Dutch Political Theory before and after Grotius, to 1700. *Michigan*.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

- Paul Fox, A.B. Western Reserve 1906, A.M. 1908; B.D. Oberlin 1907. Phases in the Social and Economic History of Poland. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Alexander Baltzly, A.B. Harvard 1912, A.M. 1913. Russia's Entry into European Politics: Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich in the Great Northern War. *Harvard*.

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

- J. K. Wright, A.B. Harvard 1913, A.M. 1914. A Study of European Knowledge of the Far East in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. *Harvard*.
- S. Kitasawa, A.B. Waseda 1910; A.M. North Carolina 1911; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins 1914. The National Debt of Japan. *Johns Hopkins*.
- T. Yokoyama, Ph.B. Kansas 1909; B.D. Westminster Theological Seminary 1910; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins 1915. The Japanese Judiciary. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Theodore Overlach, Gymnasium, Schleiz 1907. Foreign Control of Finance and Industry in China. *California*.
- L. H. Davis, S.B. Pennsylvania 1901, LL.B. 1904, A.M. 1912. The Doctrine of Spheres of Influence and the Open-Door Policy in China. *Pennsylvania*.
- J. W. Carroll, A.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915, LL.B. 1915. The Diplomatic Situation in China. *Columbia*.
- R. R. Pawar, A.B. Bombay 1905, LL.B. 1908; A.M. New York 1915. Agriculture and Co-operation in British India. *Columbia*.
- H. L. Reed, A.B. Oberlin 1911; Ph.D. Cornell 1914. The Development of a Qualified Gold Exchange Standard in India. *Cornell*.

AMERICA: GENERAL

- H. C. Beyle, A.B. Central College of Iowa 1912; A.M. Chicago 1916. Constitutional and Administrative Aspects of Tenant Legislation in the United States. *Chicago*.
- A. A. Holtz, A.B. Colgate 1909; Ph.M. Chicago 1910, D.B. 1911, Ph.D. 1914. The Moral and Religious Element in American Education to 1800. *Chicago*.
- W. E. Rich, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. The History of the Post-Office in the United States. *Harvard*.
- Lucia von L. Becker, Ph.B. Chicago 1909, Ph.M. 1911. The History of the Admission of New States into the Union. *Chicago*.
- A. R. Mead, A.B. Miami; A.M. Columbia 1910. Development of the Free School and the Abolition of Rate Bills in the States of Connecticut and Michigan. *Columbia*.
- T. P. Martin, A.B. Leland Stanford 1913; A.M. California 1914. The Confirmation of Foreign Land Titles in the Acquired Territories of the United States. *Harvard*.
- E. C. Evans, A.B. Missouri 1910, A.M. 1912; Ph.D. Chicago 1915. The History of the Australian Ballot System in the United States. *Chicago*.
- V. J. West, Ph.B. Chicago 1905. History of Corrupt Practices Acts in the United States. *Chicago*.
- H. G. Hodges, Litt.B. Princeton 1911; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. The Doctrine of Intervention. *Pennsylvania*.
- O. C. Ault, A.B. Tri-State 1907; A.B. Defiance 1911. The Recent Development of Socialism in the United States. *Chicago*.

- Jane I. Newell, A.B. Wellesley 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1908. Social Aspects of the Temperance Movement in the United States. *Wisconsin*.
- J. O. Hall, A.B. Denver 1903, A.M. 1905. The Norse Immigration. *Columbia*.
- S. L. Chandler, A.B. Morningside 1899; A.M. Iowa 1901. Amalgamation of the Iberic with other Racial Groups in the United States with special reference to the South Italians. *Columbia*.
- H. W. Dodds, A.B. Grove City 1909; A.M. Princeton 1914. Legislative Procedure in the Several States. *Pennsylvania*.
- K. H. Porter, A.B. Michigan 1914, A.M. 1916. The Development of Suffrage in State Governments. *Chicago*.
- W. W. Hollingsworth, S.B. Mercer 1910; A.M. Princeton 1914. The State Governor. *California*.
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